

Propaganda Analysis

VOLUME II OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE
INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

November, 1938 to September, 1939

*FEATURING MATERIALS TO AID
STUDENT AND ADULT GROUPS IN THE ANALYSIS
OF TODAY'S PROPAGANDAS*

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

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THE preface to this volume actually ought to be the September, 1939 bulletin, which you will find on page 105. That issue is really the annual report of the Institute's second year. It sets forth briefly salient facts about what the Institute has published this second year and why; it tells what the Institute has tried to accomplish in its educational program in schools, colleges and among adult organizations. Why not turn, therefore, to the end of this volume and read the September bulletin now?

... Now that you have read the annual report it seems proper to dwell for a moment on what the Institute considers the most helpful and positive approach to the problem of propaganda in a democracy. You may recall that when the first bulletin of the Institute appeared in October, 1937, it set up standards by which the various conflicting propagandas might be appraised.

We said then that many persons would deal with opinions or propaganda that they don't like by suppressing them—by violence, if need be. We declared that suppression of unpopular opinion or propaganda would be contrary to American concepts of democratic government. We showed that democracy has four parts set forth or implied in the Constitution and federal statutes:

1. *Political*—Freedom to vote on public issues; freedom of press and speech to discuss those issues in public gatherings, in press, radio, motion pictures, etc.
2. *Economic*—Freedom to work and to participate in organizations and discussions to promote better working standards and higher living conditions for the people.
3. *Social*—Freedom from oppression based on theories of superiority or inferiority.
4. *Religious*—Freedom of worship, with separation of church and state.

With all of these freedoms are associated responsibilities. Accordingly the Institute's monthly propaganda analysis bulletins are prepared, not to tell our subscriber-members what to think, but rather to help them make their own analysis of today's propagandas.

In so far as the work in the Institute is effective and in so far as the thinking of ourselves

and our subscriber-members is effective it must be in the temper of science. Scientific appraisals are impossible in any other framework than that which comprises both the freedoms and the responsibilities of the concrete democratic realities we have cited. It is only within this framework that the process of critical thinking can take place; and propaganda analysis is critical thinking, it is inquiry into the nature, the causes and the effects of the conflicts with which propagandas inevitably are associated.

Running through the table of contents of this volume you will see titles which do concern these conflicts: "The Munich Plot"; The Attack on Democracy; Communism, U. S. A.; Spain, A Case Study; Britain Woos America; Father Coughlin; The Associated Farmers. All of these conflicts are focal points for countless opinions or propagandas. Thus Volume II with its attempt to set forth major conflicts and the propagandas associated with them lays the basis for the continuing study of these and related conflicts during the year that lies ahead. As most of our subscribers recognize, the pictures of these conflicts and the propagandas associated with them—the pictures which come to us through the lenses of press, news reel, radio and other channels of communication—necessarily are incomplete, often are distorted. To receive these pictures in clearer, sharper focus, to get them in terms closer to reality, the process of analysis, appraisal, critical thinking is essential. It is this process that the educational program of the Institute attempts to make positive by emphasizing historical background and scientific method. Here of special importance are the monthly bulletins, the worksheets, the school study activities, the adult group activities of the Institute. Most of our subscriber members, like the members of the Institute board, know that no one has all the answers. Certainly the Institute is not infallible. Our readers, like ourselves, must be dependent upon not only the scholarship of the past but also upon the many admirable presentations of the current scene. It seems important once again to dwell upon the fact that citizens of the United States are peculiarly fortunate in having the best press, the best radio programs, the best

motion pictures, to be found anywhere. The same freedom which permits the best also permits manifestations of the worst.

The *Springfield Republican* put this thought succinctly in an editorial published two years ago. It said:

Freedom of speech and of the press, to the extent that Americans enjoy them, necessarily afford full scope for propaganda from everybody, everywhere, any time.

Free propaganda is nothing but free publicity for the views, interpretations, arguments, pleadings, truths and untruths, half-lies and lies of all creation. Propaganda is good as well as bad. "We are surrounded by clouds of propaganda," . . . and so we are. It is up to each of us to precipitate from those clouds the true and the false, the near-true and the near-false, identifying and giving to each classification its correct label. If this task is far beyond the facilities or ability of most of us, the fact has to be accepted as the price we pay for liberty. . . .

As this preface is written America is flooded with propagandas arising from the war in Europe. Some of these are calculated to throw the influence of the United States to one side or the other; all concern the domestic and foreign policies of our government. At no time in this

generation has there been greater need for clear, critical thinking. War propagandas, as attempts to regiment the emotions, thoughts, and actions of our citizens, utilize the *methods* which are set forth in Volume I of the Institute's studies and which are illustrated in this present volume. If these collected studies of the Institute can be of help in these times in stimulating clearer, more critical thinking, the work of the Institute will be abundantly justified.

To many of our subscriber-members the Institute is grateful for helpful suggestions, for counsel and for criticism—even sharp adverse criticism; to hundreds of teachers in hundreds of schools, to leaders in civic groups, churches, and public forums who have helped the Institute develop its educational program, we are likewise most grateful. For one study, *The Associated Farmers*, which appears in this volume, we are indebted to Mr. I. F. Stone, for much of the research and writing. We also acknowledge gratefully the services of Alfred McClung Lee and Elizabeth Briant Lee, who edited the Institute's book *The Fine Art of Propaganda*,¹ an analysis of the speeches of Father Charles E. Coughlin.

CLYDE R. MILLER
Secretary

Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Inc.
New York City
September 23, 1939

¹ This was published in August, 1939, by Harcourt, Brace and Company, 383 Madison Avenue, New York, and is not included in this volume. It may be obtained from Harcourt, Brace, cloth bound \$1.50, paper bound 75c. It was free to subscriber-members and will be sent to new subscribers as long as our supply lasts.

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Propaganda Analysis

A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

130 MORNINGSIDE DRIVE : NEW YORK CITY

Volume II

NOVEMBER 1, 1938

Number 2

"The Munich Plot"

ONLY in bizarre mystery tales like those of Edgar Wallace and E. Phillips Oppenheim, where paunchy newspaper lords and financiers and statesmen gather in smoke-filled rooms to decide the destiny of nations, could such an incredible story be found as is being told today in New York and Washington, in London and Paris, and, in carefully guarded closed rooms, in Berlin and Rome.

In brief, the story is this: Last May, if not much earlier, Neville Chamberlain decided to buy Hitler's friendship, or at least purchase some immunity from his enmity; and to do this by the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia. It was a decision beset with grave risks and problems. How keep France and the Soviet Union from observing solemn treaties and rushing to Czechoslovakia's defense? How forestall an upheaval in England itself that might overthrow Chamberlain's own government?

To meet these problems called for the highest talent in propaganda-diplomacy-card stacking on a titanic scale. The peoples of France and Britain must be prepared to expect the horrors of war at any split-second; and events were so ordered. Then—presto!—in that darkest hour came the Munich conference in which Chamberlain turned what appeared to be certain war into "peace with honor." It was all planned and happened according to plan.

According to this explanation of "the Munich plot," from the moment of Chamberlain's decision to capitulate to Hitler, what happened in Europe was mostly "play acting" culminating in those memorable days and nights when millions of Americans listened avidly to radio dispatches of the unfolding drama. And as in a

drama on the stage, everything was planned, or nearly everything; the fervent speeches, the Runciman report, the visits to Berchtesgaden and Godesberg, even the cablegrams which Franklin D. Roosevelt was persuaded to send Adolph Hitler and Mussolini. All this was arranged, if the story of the "Munich plot" is true, by Mr. Chamberlain or his confidential aides, arranged deliberately to stampede public opinion into accepting and approving the Chamberlain policy of appeasement with respect to Rome and Berlin. Troops were mobilized, gas masks were given to the peoples, evacuation of Paris was begun, trenches were dug in London parks, armies were mobilized, and the might of the British navy was gathered in the North Sea. German passenger liners were ordered to rush back to their home ports. Everything was done to make the British and French peoples believe that Europe teetered on the brink of war.

Says Professor Frederick L. Schuman, of Williams College: "There was no war crisis at any time . . . Instead of a war crisis, there was a gigantic hoax perpetrated by Neville Chamberlain and Adolf Hitler, in tacit if not in express agreement . . . The Prime Minister supplied the gestures. Der Fuehrer supplied the threats and thunder. Il Duce was party to the bargain . . . All the important steps were prearranged. The drama was played out according to plan."

If this bizarre tale is correct, a tale involving the utilization of America's ace airman, Charles A. Lindbergh, to bring about the final denouement, the President of the United States may have been duped by the adroit British propagandists as readily as were the British and

French and American peoples. Some circumstantial evidence, particularly that set forth by Joseph Driscoll, chief of the New York *Herald Tribune's* London bureau, is cited by those, like Dr. Schuman, who hold this belief. Whether or not they are right, one thing is certain: Neville Chamberlain did capitalize on the fear of war, using it to get the peoples of France and Britain to accept as "peace with honor" a Hitler victory which overnight reduced France to a second-rate power, and which has seriously undermined the prestige of the "democratic nations."

Does the theory of the "Munich plot" make sense? Edwin L. James of *The New York Times* thinks not. Herbert Agar of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* calls the plot a myth. And myth it may be; but Mr. Driscoll thinks otherwise. As far back as May 15, he reported from London that England would, under no circumstances, fight in Czechoslovakia's defense. At the moment, the Nazis were merely demanding local autonomy, but Mr. Driscoll said that England was determined upon *Anschluss* for Sudetenland. He told of Neville Chamberlain's hope for an understanding with Germany, France, and Italy to work for general European appeasement. And he said that it was Mr. Chamberlain's wish to isolate the Soviet Union.

"Whitehall's 'Realistic' Policy"

As the world now knows, Mr. Driscoll anticipated the events of the past five months with uncanny accuracy. Of course, he may have been merely guessing when he wrote his story: reporters do that, sometimes; they call it "thumb-sucking." Mr. Driscoll says not. He says that he got his story from a "most knowledgeable source." Geoffrey Mander, Liberal M.P., says that he got it from Mr. Chamberlain, himself. All Mr. Driscoll will say is that it "came straight from the horse's mouth."

Mr. Driscoll says that his story was an exposition of the Chamberlain government's official policy and that "Whitehall never deserted this 'realistic' policy." Throughout September, while Downing Street was announcing that England would fight at the side of France and the Soviet Union if Hitler sent his troops into Sudetenland, while England was mobilizing her fleet, and while France was pouring her army into the Maginot Line—during all that agonizing month, says Mr. Driscoll, Chamberlain stuck by his original plan to give the Sudetenland to Hitler. "A lot of speeches, which may have con-

fused people, were uttered," he admits, "but one must remember that speeches are sometimes carefully drafted to confuse and mislead."

In this connection, Robert Dell, of the Manchester *Guardian*, has noted that even as Georges Bonnet, Foreign Minister of France, was publicly assuring the Czech government that France would stand by her commitments, he was declaring privately that "France should throw over Czechoslovakia to get an understanding with Germany."

According to Mr. Driscoll, the purpose of the Runciman mission was "to stall for time" until England and Germany could arrange their "deal." In fact, he maintains, England, unlike the United States, "never accepted (the Runciman mission) on its face value." Mr. Dell goes even further. He says (*The Nation*, October 22): "Runciman was sent to Prague to induce Czechoslovakia to commit national suicide."

The alleged Munich plot is associated with one of four distinct theories of the recent crisis. Propagandas are associated with all of them.

Theory Number One: Neville Chamberlain and the wealthy British industrial and financial group of his class are friendly to German Nazism and Italian Fascism—some because they believe that by encouraging Nazism and Fascism on the Continent, they will discourage radicalism in England; others because they have invested much of their money in Germany and Italy; still others because they look upon Nazism and Fascism as "Europe's only bulwark against Communism."

Theory Number Two holds that Mr. Chamberlain was absolutely sincere, absolutely earnest in all his negotiations with Hitler, and in all his pronouncements to Parliament. Those who believe in Theory Number Two say that Mr. Chamberlain loves democracy, that he detests Nazism and Fascism, that he would have liked to save Czechoslovakia from German aggression. But he was powerless, they say, because Germany would have gone to war had its demands not been granted. And, they maintain, England cannot afford war: England is comparatively defenseless, particularly in the air.

According to this theory, the probability of war really did exist during the latter part of September, and Mr. Chamberlain, therefore, really is the "Savior of Peace."

Theory Number Three holds that Mr. Chamberlain and his colleagues in the British government simply are following the old line of "the

balance of power," hoping to bring about war between two strong continental powers—Germany and Russia—a war in which the two would tear each other to pieces with Britain finally coming in at the right moment to pick up the pieces, to her own aggrandizement. This explanation has been advanced by Harland Allen, the business analyst, among others.

And, finally, there is *Theory Number Four* that Neville Chamberlain may at various times adhere to one or more of the above theories but that all of the time he is an ignorant man, unfitted to cope with shrewd, calculating dictators and led by his own stupidities and by naive belief in his own merit to acts the sum total of which have led to the Munich conference and the feverish preparations for war which today are flowing from it.

Probably no one person knows all that happened in the exciting weeks that led up to the Munich pact. Certainly, most of the European peoples have been kept in the dark, including those of England and France. Americans, thanks to unparalleled accomplishments of the American press and the American radio in reporting world events, have a clearer picture of what has taken place than the people of any other nation.

The Nuremberg Address

A Europe already tense and jittery heard Adolf Hitler's Nuremberg address with horror. To millions in England and France, the World War might have taken place yesterday, so fresh is the memory of 1914. To millions it seemed that only by giving Hitler what he wanted could war be forestalled. And this, say those who believe in the story of the "Munich plot," is exactly what Mr. Chamberlain wanted. Mr. Chamberlain had been ready in May to abandon Czechoslovakia, they say, but he could not then risk the outcry that was certain to follow, an outcry that might have been impossible for him and for Edouard Daladier to withstand. He, therefore, hoped to make the people of England and France believe that he was choosing between Czechoslovakia and peace.

So, while Hitler shouted war, England and France made believe at preparing for war. The climax of the carefully built drama neared. Mr. Chamberlain flew to confer with Hitler. (Walter Lippmann has asked, in his syndicated column, what there was to confer about, since Lord Runciman already had advised that Hitler be

given what he wanted. Those who believe in the story of the "Munich plot" say that Mr. Chamberlain was attempting to "dramatize the imminence of war.")

Meanwhile, Hitler's ally, Mussolini, was also doing his share to create panic. Mussolini is not given much to speech-making; but now, day after day, he shouted that war could not be averted, that Italy had already chosen her side. Any suggestion that peace could be maintained was hooted, if not by Il Duce himself, then by Virginio Gayda, his unofficial spokesman. Few took Mussolini seriously, at first; but he and Mr. Gayda kept on war-mongering, day after day; and day after day Europe became more panicky.

Then, Munich. Hitler took over Sudetenland. There was no war. A wave of relief swept through Europe. Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier returned from Germany, hailed as the "Saviors of Peace." Overnight, France became a "second Portugal," a satellite of England, its foreign policy completely dominated by 10 Downing Street.

Where does Mr. Roosevelt fit in this story? There are those who seem to believe that he, too, was "used" by Mr. Chamberlain to put across the Munich pact. For example, *The Week* of London, a left-wing news letter, has said that he sent his first cablegram to Hitler at the request of the Chamberlain government, as relayed to Washington by Joseph P. Kennedy, the U. S. Ambassador to England. Mr. Chamberlain did not make his request until the final plans for settlement of the crisis had already been agreed upon, reports *The Week*. The cablegram to Mussolini, asking him to serve as mediator, was also inspired by Mr. Chamberlain, it says, but not until the Prime Minister had made up his mind to invite Il Duce to Munich.

Mr. Roosevelt was brought into the picture to make it seem as though the Munich parley had the approval of the American government. This, of course, it did not have, for Mr. Roosevelt had proposed an international conference, not the four-power Munich parley. Nevertheless, Mr. Chamberlain welcomed the Roosevelt proposal so quickly that for the moment the peoples of Europe and America overlooked the fact that the Munich conference was a deliberate perversion of the Roosevelt proposal. Thus, according to the theory of "the Munich plot," Mr. Roosevelt was "used" by Chamberlain to commit a perfectly timed propaganda act which bestowed American blessing upon Chamber-

lain's "betrayal of the democratic forces in Czechoslovakia, France, and Britain."

To indicate the influence that Mr. Chamberlain has upon America's foreign policy, those who believe that Mr. Roosevelt was used by the English Prime Minister cite the fact that just before the Nuremberg congress the President took the American press to task for "misinterpreting" his speeches about the dictator-nations. Why?, they ask. Was Mr. Roosevelt asked by Mr. Chamberlain not to rock the boat by attacking the dictators while the Chamberlain government was negotiating with them?

If the story of "the Munich plot" is true, we have witnessed what is the most astounding propaganda program since that which culminated in the Versailles Treaty. Playing upon their fear of war, Chamberlain and Hitler, aided by Daladier and Mussolini, have frightened the people of England and France into letting the Nazis have their way again in central Europe. A war-scare was deliberately created, not merely by talking about war, but even by mobilizing troops, and preparing for improbable air-raids.

It must be remembered, however, that while experts on European affairs, as honest and reliable as Mr. Driscoll and Dr. Schuman, believe the story of the "plot," others, as reliable and honest as Mr. James, do not believe it. The plot story, in fact, may be propaganda itself. We do not know. Certainly, it is being used as such by those in England who oppose Mr. Chamberlain's foreign policy. Laborites and Liberals and even some Conservatives in Parliament have asked whether the Chamberlain government really made up its mind last summer to let Germany have Sudetenland. And, like Winston Churchill, they have demanded to know what then was the reason for calling "into being this formidable apparatus of crisis."

To those who believe the story of "the Munich plot," either Theory Number One, that Chamberlain and his supporters are sympathetic to Nazism and Fascism, or Theory Number Two, that Chamberlain is a blundering, ignorant man, is tenable. Fantastic as the story of the plot may be, it is no more fantastic than what has happened in Germany since the advent of Hitler. Hitler got what he wanted and he got it precisely in the manner set forth in our letter of May, 1938, on "The Propaganda Techniques of German Fascism." Once again he proved himself one of the master propagandists of all time. His repeated triumphs, whether in

spite of or with the connivance of the British government, are in line with the propaganda program laid down in his book, *Mein Kampf*, and analyzed and illustrated in our May letter. Documenting what we said then, Leland Stowe has since set forth in the *Herald-Tribune* (Sept. 28) the record of Hitler's broken promises since 1933 with respect to both Austria and Czechoslovakia—a record of card stacking which ordinary citizens do not remember but which diplomats of foreign powers could hardly be expected to have forgotten. Especially significant in the Nazi propaganda that brought on the Sudeten crisis was Hitler's resurrection of Woodrow Wilson's glittering generality, self-determination. Running this rosy term through the prism of analysis, as Archibald Macleish does in *The Nation* for October 15, we see that in practice Hitler has made it mean powerful support for the racial propaganda of the Nazis. That propaganda now may be expected to infiltrate other nations, and even the United States, in accelerated volume. The Institute advocates that Americans analyze this propaganda to see how and why it works. With this analysis made, the propaganda would lose much of its power to change or overthrow long established economic, political, racial, and social traditions in America.

Newspapers are supposed
"Most Accurate" to use Associated Press
dispatches exactly as they
come from the A.P. teletypes, but Charles J. Lewin, editor-in-chief of the New Bedford (Mass.) *Standard-Times*, doesn't think it's right of the A.P. to call the Spanish Government the Spanish Government. Nor does he like the way the A.P. identifies General Franco's troops as "Insurgents." So, despite the A.P. regulations, the *Standard-Times* changes Government to "Socialist," and Insurgent to "Fascist" in every A.P. story from Spain. Mr. Lewin says: "We feel that is the most accurate identification."

Hill and Knowlton, the public relations firm, of Cleveland and New York, has charged that its activities in behalf of Republic Steel were grossly misrepresented in the September issue of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS. Particularly does the firm resent "the implication that Hill and Knowlton deliberately engaged in making public 'phoney' pic-

tures." T. M. Girdler, chairman of Republic Steel, had every reason to believe that he was really showing the Senate Post Office Committee photographs of "weapons of war taken from these C. I. O. forces," the firm maintains, pointing out that not only the photographs but their captions as well had been certified as genuine by the secretary of the chief of police of Youngstown, Ohio.

Hill and Knowlton says that "scores of rifles, revolvers, knives, hatchets, and clubs" were confiscated by the Youngstown police from C. I. O. members during the strike against Republic Steel.

On the other hand, careful study of the records of the Senate Post Office Committee and the Senate Civil Liberties Committee has convinced the Institute that at least two of the six

photographs which Mr. Girdler exhibited were miscaptioned. The Institute does not believe that Hill and Knowlton miscaptioned them "deliberately"; nor does the September issue of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS charge that it did. If, however, there was any such implication, we greatly regret it.

At the same time, we should like to correct an error that we did make in the article on the La-Follette committee. After outlining the activities by which Little Steel attempted to combat the C. I. O., we said that "In charge of all these activities was Hill and Knowlton . . ." We should have written "In charge of *some* of these activities . . ." As Hill and Knowlton has pointed out, it had no connection with the formation of the "civic groups."

Propaganda Analysis Worksheet

BECAUSE today we must make decisions in the light of what we read and hear, rather than in the light of personal experience, it is important that we get help in evaluating what we hear and what we read, especially in the fields of economics, politics, and war. All of us need help in making decisions in these areas. The method of science, representing a system of inquiry and of investigation, can help us.

For most important decisions people need to collect and to sort *pertinent facts* bearing upon the question or the problem at hand. These facts should be arranged and organized in order to suggest a tentative solution or basis for belief. Today, scientists even after the gathering of masses of evidence look upon the conclusions they draw as tentative, as open to change.

I. Perhaps we can best understand the meaning of the method of science, which has revolutionized the world in which we live, by looking at some of its steps, at some of its procedures. As we learn how these procedures operate in the laboratory, in the library, in the kitchen, we must try to see how they will help us to evaluate the propagandas flowing from the present European crisis.

Working in groups or classes, study and discuss the formal steps which describe the scientific method. The assistance of a science teacher in your school, or of a scientist in your community, should prove valuable to this undertaking.

("Towards the Scientific Method," in Division I of the *Group Leader's Guide to Propaganda Analysis* provides a clear statement of these steps, as well as questions concerning practice of the methods of science in daily living, which the individual can put to himself.)

II. Clip or copy from this bulletin each of the four "theories" concerning the Munich pact. Paste them in your workbooks. In the left hand margin or below the statement of the "theories," work with the following exercises and questions:

First, re-state in your own words *just what is said* by the holders of each theory. Question your friends and neighbors as to what theory they hold; try to determine why they believe as they do.

Second, point out "facts" given which support each theory; point out "facts" given which discredit each theory.

Third, point out assumptions (scales of value, which everyone reading facts uses on them, almost without knowing it) which are present in each of the "theories."

Fourth, define and discuss "assumptions"; discuss the statement that "many people lay great importance on facts and forget the equally great importance of assumptions."

Fifth, write out clearly in your own words a statement which will show just wherein each theory is consistent, or is inconsistent, with itself. Attempt to account for consistencies and inconsistencies.

Sixth, in group discussion consider alternative theories of the Munich pact. Write them out in your

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workbooks; subject them to the questions suggested. List other facts related to Chamberlain's pact with Hitler. Give sources—newspaper stories, radio speakers, magazine articles, books—from which these "facts" come. Which of these facts seem to be neglected by the holders of the four theories? Why do you think they are neglected?

Seventh, after studying these theories, do you consider that their holders generalize from only a few facts or cases? Do they take into consideration cause and effect relationships? Consider some of the cause and effect relationships pertinent to the Munich pact.

III. Working as a group, or in committees, make a "Propaganda Dictionary" of current propaganda words used in news stories, headlines, editorials, and radio speeches concerning the Munich pact. *Analyze* the terms used by those who hold the four "theories," such terms as "appeasement," "apparatus of crisis," "self-determination," "peace with honor," "betrayal of Czechoslovakia," "sell-out to the Fascists," "the Munich plot."

In your group's "Propaganda Dictionary" include: (1) etymological meanings—the dictionary definitions; (2) contemporary usage—how a word is used as a "good" or a "bad" name; (3) propaganda significance—associations which the word or phrase has in the minds of the people you know; (4) semantic interpretation—what most people think of when they

use or hear the word or phrase; (5) give the accepted usage of the word or phrase.

Groups or classes may wish to call upon teachers of mathematics and upon teachers of English for help in this project of definition.

IV. *Contradictions in the News.* Prepare a bulletin board display to dramatize the many conflicting reports about the European situation. Contrast such current newspaper accounts as Al Williams' recent article in the Scripps-Howard papers deriding the Soviet air force with the report by Pierre Cot, former Air Minister of France, praising the Soviet air force. Or contrast the statement by Hermann Goering that Germany is equipped to fight for thirty years with the article, "What Would Germany Fight With?" by Willson Woodside in *Harper's*, for September 1938, to the effect that Germany cannot fight a war.

Using the bulletin board display as subject matter, work as a group, taking each of these disputed "facts" and trying to see what other relevant and indisputable facts can be found that would indicate either their truth or their falsity. In a high school or college situation, call upon other groups such as history, social studies, current events, and mathematics classes, to participate in the project. Make the bulletin board available to them, or to the entire school.

Among the current *Breaking the Ground* propagandas that will be studied in the December issue of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS is the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company's new campaign against chain store legislation.

In preparation for careful study of the basic problems concerned and of their attendant propagandas, Institute members and study groups should:

(1) Clip and study advertisements by the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company (the A. and P. stores) in daily newspapers and current magazines, which attack Representative Wright Patman's anti-chain store bill. Representative Patman's bill is slated to come before Congress at its next session.

(2) Send to Superintendent of Public Documents, Washington, D. C., for copies of Representative Patman's speeches concerning the chain stores. Read them.

(3) Talk to local tradesmen—to small grocery store owners, to members of consumers' cooperatives, to grocery, drug, and dry goods clerks, and to workers in local chain stores. Get their opinions concerning the proposed chain store legislation.

(4) Get prices from privately owned grocery and dry goods stores and from chain stores engaged in selling the same commodities in your vicinity. Compare these prices. Discuss them with housewives.

Propaganda Analysis

A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

130 MORNINGSIDE DRIVE : NEW YORK CITY

Volume II

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Number 3

The A. & P. Campaign

ABOUT five years ago, when the late Huey P. Long, of Louisiana, first began to wonder out loud about the chain stores, and to ask whether something couldn't be done to squash them, John Hartford, and brother George, who together control the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company, with its 14,000 (more or less) small, red-fronted stores, were completely and publicly indifferent. There had been anti-chain store talk before. Convinced that it would never come to anything except, perhaps, more talk, coldly the Hartford brothers announced that if the American people wanted to drive them from business, why, that was perfectly all right. If necessary, they could always retire; they had plenty. However, they wouldn't spend one cent of that money to fight discriminatory chain store legislation.

This was in 1933. Only two states then had anti-chain store laws.

The years since have indeed been crowded. Huey Long pushed his drastic tax on chain stores through Louisiana's state legislature; the Supreme Court gave its approval. Nineteen other states enacted anti-chain store laws. In still others, anti-chain store bills are today being vigorously advocated, with some chance of success. The American Retail Federation, once little more than an idea that retailers liked to play with in their idle moments, now is very much alive, healthy, and kicking. The Honorable Wright Patman, of Texas, who in 1933 was still too occupied with the soldiers' bonus to concern himself with the "Little Man," is very much concerned, at present. Prodded by the American Retail Federation, he teamed up with the late Senator Joseph T. Robinson, of

Arkansas, to push through Congress in 1936 one bill, which may effectively scotch many of the practices whereby the chains have been able to undersell the independent grocer. And this was only the beginning. At present, Representative Patman has another bill: H. R. 1 it will be called at the next session of Congress. Its stated purpose: to crush the inter-state chains.

So the Hartford brothers, who said five years ago that A. & P. would never spend one cent to fight discriminatory legislation, today are singing quite another tune. Last year they were forced to close down 1,200 of their stores. Their net profit dropped 46 per cent — to \$9,000,000. Of course, anti-chain store legislation wasn't entirely to blame. For one thing, A. & P. is now faced with the competition of the super-markets — huge, self-service grocery stores — which apparently can undersell the A. & P. as easily as the A. & P. can undersell the small retailer, and some of which offer the added bait of bingo games, lotteries, and cooking schools. (To meet their competition, the A. & P. has itself begun to establish super-markets.) For another, the small retailer is beginning to line up with other retailers in cooperatives — known as voluntary chains — that give him many of the marketing advantages of the chain store. And finally, there is reason to believe that A. & P. has grown too big for its own good. People who have studied the organization (see *Fortune* magazine for April, 1938) say that it could achieve the same efficiency in marketing with 3,000 stores as with 14,000, cut its overhead immensely, lose but little business, and reap bigger profits.

On the other hand, the anti-chain store legislation that already exists has undoubtedly had

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some effect upon the A. & P., can be held responsible for *some*, at least, of its present business troubles. And if the Patman bill is passed, state laws, competition, and inefficiency will be the least of A. & P.'s worries. Wright Patman isn't fooling: he means business. Under his bill, the A. & P. would have to pay the Federal government \$524,000,000 annually — nearly 60 per cent of its 1937 sales volume, nearly 6,000 per cent of its 1937 net profit. The A. & P. obviously couldn't pay that: it would have to shut up shop. And recognizing this, Representative Patman gives the chain stores two years grace in which to liquidate.

ACCORDING to reports, the Hartford brothers first began actively to worry about chain store taxes during the California referendum fight in 1936. Up for consideration then was bill "22," which provided for special taxes on retail establishments that would have fallen most heavily upon the chain stores; behind the bill were 80,000 independent retailers, highly organized; supporting them were some of the biggest distributors and manufacturers in the state.

Frightened, the leading chain stores in the state quietly got together, hired Lord & Thomas, the New York advertising firm, to help. A. & P., say those who seem to know, was called upon to contribute, which it promptly did. Lord & Thomas sent its crack man, Don Francisco, now president of the agency, out to California. The fireworks began.

A staff of speakers was taken on. Advertisements were placed in newspapers and magazines. Press releases were issued. The chain store people went on the air every Monday night with the California Hour — sixty minutes of music, interspersed with praise of California. A prize-essay contest was held; its subject, the chain store.

All this was old stuff, though necessary. Once it had been taken care of, however, Don Francisco really went to work. First, on chain store employees. There were 40,000 of them, and they weren't too contented. Don Francisco ordered the chain stores to stop identifying them by numbers. He said: "You've got to call them by name." Here and there salaries were raised; here and there hours were cut. Picnics and parties were arranged. Glee clubs were organized. The clerks and managers began to like their jobs better, to like their employers better,

too. Instead of chain store knockers, they became chain store boosters. Then, Lord & Thomas showed them how to boost more skillfully, more forcefully; it gave them facts and figures.

Farmers were next on Don Francisco's list. He asked the chain stores to eliminate many of the marketing practices to which farmers and their organizations had long objected. Special drives were launched to help the farmers get rid of surplus crops.

The chain stores are often charged with indifference to local community welfare-work. Lord & Thomas took care of that. Store managers were told about the importance of civic affairs, community movements, local charities. They were authorized to make donations of merchandise and money at their own discretion. More important still, in dealing with landlords, bankers, real estate and insurance agents, the chain stores became more polite.

The result? According to Don Francisco's statistics, when he began his campaign, only 39 per cent of the voters were opposed to bill "22." Within one month, 54 per cent were opposed. The bill was finally voted down by 64 per cent.

The Hartford brothers kept in the background in the California propaganda campaign. In the fight against the Patman bill they are way out in front. They have retained Carl Byoir & Associates, Inc., the New York public relations firm, to advise them. Mr. Byoir will get \$36,000 annually for his advice. To carry it out, the A. & P. expects to spend at least \$2,000,000.

Part of the money was used last month and the month before to announce in approximately 2,000 newspaper advertisements that A. & P. would oppose the Patman bill in very legitimate way, except by going into politics; to announce further that A. & P. had retained Carl Byoir. More will be spent on similar advertisements during the next few months. Gist of the A. & P.'s position on the Patman bill, as expressed in the ads, is this: A. & P.'s 85,600 employees receive the highest wages and have the shortest working hours of any workers in the industry; A. & P. saves the consumer from 8 to 10 per cent on his food bill; 30 per cent of the country's farm produce is sold through chain stores; if the chain stores were to close their doors, the American farmer would, therefore, "be faced with tremendous surpluses and heart-breaking losses."

The Hartford brothers insist that in fighting the Patman bill they have only the interests of the consumer, the farmer, and their employees at heart. No personal interest motivates them, so they say. They each get \$104,166 annually from their business. However, somewhat more than 80 per cent of this income goes to Uncle Sam in taxes every year; still more will be paid out in taxes when they die. They could retire tomorrow without "personal or financial inconvenience." They aren't worrying about their children, because they haven't any.

PUBLIC relations men, who have bothered to read the A. & P. advertisements in spite of the dull, bank-statement look about them, are vociferous in their praise of Carl Byoir's work on the account. To begin with, they say, it was smart to announce the A. & P. campaign against the Patman bill in paid advertising, not in newspaper releases. Of course, the ads cost money, tens of thousands of dollars, in fact, while the cost of the newspaper releases would have been next to nothing. Moreover, only the most dogged, grimly determined newspaper reader could have been expected to plow his way through so much ponderous copy. On the other hand, newspaper publishers, their pockets jingling with A. & P. coin, might be inclined to lean over backwards just the slightest bit in their effort to see both sides of this chain store question. Public relations men don't say that American newspaper publishers are influenced by advertising; but they do point out that Edward L. Bernays irked L. B. Palmer, of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, and Arthur T. Robb, of *Editor & Publisher*, no end by his failure to use much newspaper advertising during the first year of his beer campaign. And they gravely doubt if the attacks on Mr. Bernays helped the campaign any. In addition, they suspect that much of Mr. Byoir's recent success in the field of public relations is somehow connected with the coincidence that corporations which employ him generally increase their advertising budgets soon after.

Lavishly praised by public relations men, too, is the fact that, under Mr. Byoir's prompting, the A. & P. itself announced that it had retained the firm to help it fight the bill, didn't wait for Representative Patman to inspire an investigation by the House that would have revealed the fact, amidst excited newspaper headlines. In the past, it has generally been con-

sidered good policy for public relations firms to hide the identity of their clients. Now that Congressmen have developed such hair-trigger quickness in launching Congressional investigations, however, public relations men are beginning to wonder if attempts to conceal their activities may not sometimes backfire.

Noteworthy, to anyone who looks at the A. & P.'s previous statements of policy, is the friendly tone of last month's advertisements, the concern that is expressed in them for the welfare of the consumer, of the farmer, and of labor. Never before has A. & P., in any public statement, given the slightest indication that it was even aware of their existence. Four years ago, when Cleveland teamsters went on strike against the A. & P., the Hartford brothers simply closed their Cleveland stores, and frostily denounced the conditions which made this "necessary." In 1936, John Hartford ran an open letter in the *Wall Street Journal* on chain store legislation that was colder still. In short, as *Fortune* magazine has indicated, until Mr. Byoir came along the public relations policy of the Hartford brothers was distinguished only by its arrogance. Of public relations, they were abysmally ignorant. "And not only ignorant but profoundly suspicious."

At Mr. Byoir's insistence, the Hartford brothers have right-about-faced, also, on their attitude toward union labor. The same two brothers, who closed their Cleveland stores rather than yield to demands for the closed shop, at present are seeking out A. F. of L. unions to recognize. Only recently, they agreed with the International Allied Printing Trades Association to have all their printing done in union shops; all their stores in Washington, D. C. and within 25 miles of the capital have gone closed-shop; the Chicago stores have likewise recognized the A. F. of L.; and negotiations for contracts are now in progress in Cleveland.

Coincidentally, the A. F. of L. came out strongly against the Patman bill at its recent convention.

The A. & P. denies that anything more than coincidence was responsible for this action; any suggestion that A. & P. swapped union recognition for A. F. of L. support in the fight against the Patman bill is scorned. However, it happens that Mr. Byoir's Washington representative is Chester Wright; and Mr. Wright is public relations adviser, on the side, to several of the most powerful A. F. of L. unions. He

works for the A. & P. as labor counsellor; at the same time, he runs the International Labor News Service, which is used by dozens of A. F. of L. papers. He could have been an unofficial liason man between the A. & P. and the A. F. of L. As *Tide* magazine has said, the agreement between them could "have been of the 'gentleman' variety, and work just as well."

(Incidentally, Mr. Wright's International Labor News Service has recently been sending out stories boosting the A. & P., and bitterly attacking the Patman bill.)

NOR is Mr. Byoir forgetting about the consumer. The chain stores have always considered the consumer their natural ally, for don't they save him money? Yet, the consumer has generally lined up with the small retailer to hamstringing the chain, as witness the fact that twenty-two states have anti-chain store laws. On several occasions recently the chains have sponsored consumer polls, along the lines of the Gallup poll. All show the same thing: while the average consumer who has an opinion likes to buy in chain stores because their prices are lower, he nevertheless believes in anti-chain store legislation. A contradiction? Perhaps. The chain stores think so. And they believe that it arises from an incomplete realization of the fact that chain store taxes raise the cost of living.

Hence, Mr. Byoir's appeal to consumers revolves about the issue of "hidden taxes."

It was to dramatize this issue that he inspired the formation of the "TaxCENTinels" at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute last April (see the special May 16th issue of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS). In more ways than one, however, that was only "kid stuff." More recently, Mr. Byoir helped to set up the Emergency Consumers Tax Council of New Jersey, an organization representing women shoppers in more than 100 communities. To help it get on its feet, he gave it \$2,000 of A. & P.'s money. To keep it there, and feed it with facts and figures, he formed Business Organization, Inc., whose job it will be not only to advise the Tax Council but also to organize similar groups elsewhere, to engage in research on taxes and living costs for the ladies to study and use when they lobby, and even to write their speeches for them.

Naturally, Mr. Byoir is confident that he will kill the Patman bill. With the A. F. of L. already behind him, and consumers' groups

(sponsored by himself) getting into line, he now is working on the farm associations. And their support, if Mr. Byoir succeeds in getting it, will be powerful support, indeed. On the other hand, the groups that back the Patman bill are powerful, too. In addition to the American Retail Federation, they include the National Retail Grocers Association, the U. S. Wholesale Grocers Association, and the National Association of Retail Druggists. The last-named is generally regarded as "the most powerful trade group in the country."

Boding ill for the A. & P. campaign were last month's election returns from Colorado, where the attempt of the chain stores to repeal anti-chain store legislation was thumpingly defeated. Braun & Company, the West Coast public relations consultants, told Colorado voters that "chain store taxes are paid by the consumer," but Colorado voters cast their ballots for the chain store taxes, anyway.

It must be remembered, however, that Braun & Company faced one problem that does not face Mr. Byoir — the messy financial situation that exists in Colorado. The state has been having trouble in meeting its social-security payments; and by far the most potent argument of those who favored retention of the chain store taxes was the question: if the chain store taxes are repealed, won't Colorado have to stop social-security payments altogether?

As yet, the independent retailers have been pretty slow in getting their propaganda in favor of the Patman bill under way, although the U. S. Wholesale Grocers Association has issued one pamphlet, "But Does the A. & P. Tell All?" which is being distributed widely. In all probability, they will rely not so much upon direct appeals to the public as upon lobbying to push the bill through, for they are highly organized. And their major arguments will probably be that chain stores do not undersell the independent dealer by more than 1 or 2 per cent; that chain stores exploit the farmer and squeeze the wholesaler and the manufacturer; that chain stores must be discouraged in the interest of public policy, since the "Little Man" is the backbone of the country, and the chain store is driving him into bankruptcy.

To which the A. & P. has many answers — one, that small retailers who go bankrupt are incompetent retailers. For the "Little Man," who knows his business, there is opportunity galore, say the brothers Hartford.

Propaganda Analysis Worksheet

AS generally understood, *propaganda is expression of opinion or action by individuals or groups deliberately designed to influence opinions or actions of other individuals or groups with reference to predetermined ends.*¹

Previous Institute bulletins, for the most part, have emphasized one aspect of this working definition — opinion as propaganda. In this month's study of chain store propaganda we see quite clearly that the aspect of *action as propaganda* is predominant. In the Lord and Thomas campaign in California and in the current Carl Byoir campaign for the A. & P. stores, the major work that is being done is not so much in the field of argument or other verbal appeals as it is in the field of actual changes in policy of the chain store organization — changes in policy which are designed to influence public opinion.

In connection with the study of action as propaganda, school and adult study groups may draw upon American and world history for background, for illustrative material. That acts will sometimes dramatize ideas and situations as words could never do, may be seen in the following historical examples of propaganda actions:

(1) The Boston Tea Party, which crystallized American resentment against the British tax on tea, brought home to England the extent of this resentment far more emphatically than could have been done by any petition or any verbal protest.

(2) The issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 did not free any Negro slaves, but throughout the North it dramatized the conflict between North and South as that of slavery over and against the South's claim that the issue was one of "States' Rights." The Proclamation served to mobilize abolitionist sentiment in the North; it helped to crystallize feeling among many Negroes of the South, who, where it was possible, joined the Union army.

Bringing the study and discussion of propaganda acts to recent years, classes and study groups have at hand, in recent newspaper and news-magazine stories, two specific examples of propaganda acts. These are:

(1) Adolf Hitler's insistence on "token occupation" of Sudetenland. The symbolic occupation dramatized Hitler's diplomatic victory at Munich;

¹ The working definition of propaganda formulated by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis in the announcement issue of *Propaganda Analysis*.

actually, it was not until four or five days later that Sudetenland became his — in fact, as well as in propaganda.

(2) President Roosevelt's recall of Ambassador High G. Wilson from Berlin for "consultation." This action, coming from the State Department, dramatized America's reaction towards recent Nazi persecution of German Jews.

Institute members and study groups should at this point refer to suggestions for preliminary investigation, suggested in "Breaking the Ground," November bulletin. Some suggestions for further study, research, and discussion in connection with the question of propagandas associated with proposed chain store legislation, follow. They are formulated especially for group study in economics, consumer education, home economics, social studies, current events, and the like.

I. Just what have been the economic effects of chain stores? Consider and investigate such aspects as:

(a) Has the competition of the chain stores in recent years actually served to drive out the small retailer? Has the number of independent grocers decreased, increased, or remained the same during the past ten years?

(b) Has the percentage of the entire retail grocery business done by the independent retailers increased or decreased during the past ten years? Has it remained the same?

(c) Has the income of the average small retailer increased or decreased? Remember, the Wright Patman bill, slated to come before Congress next session, affects all chain stores — drug, cigar, dry goods, etc.

Note: Write to the Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., for research reports on these subjects.

II. *Suggested Group Survey.* Working committees in home economics, consumer education, and other classes and study groups are urged to make the following survey of neighborhood stores in an attempt to discover for themselves whether chain stores actually undersell the independent retailers by from eight to ten per cent as the A. & P. claims; or whether they undersell them by one or two per cent as independent retailers claim.

In the survey, ask such questions as: (a) Do independent retailers give the shopper any extra services for his money, such as charge accounts and delivery? (b) Ask shoppers where they prefer to shop — at chain stores or independent retailers — and why. (c) Poll parents, friends, neighbors concerning their attitudes towards chain stores. Ask: Do they

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shop in chain stores? Why? Do they believe that chain stores should be taxed? If so, why? If not, why not?

After conducting the survey, after group discussion of the findings, consider whether there might be other factors besides the chain stores which may have affected the increased, or the decreased, income of the average small retailer.

III. Investigate the factual bases of the following two arguments. Consider their propaganda implications.

The A. & P. advertisement says that if the chain stores which now distribute thirty per cent of the country's farm produce were to close their doors the American farmer would "be faced with tremendous surpluses and heartbreaking losses."

Representative Wright Patman ridicules this argument, saying that it presupposes that, if the chain stores were to close, thirty per cent less food would be eaten in the country. Actually, he says, all that would happen is that people who now buy from chains would buy from independents; they would eat just as much, and no loss to the farmer would result. Mr. Patman also says that the workers displaced by the closing of the chain stores would be absorbed by the independent stores, since the latter would have to expand in order to meet this increasing business which he foresees for them in event of the passage of his bill.

IV. Study and discuss the relationship of prices to consumption. A suggested reference source: reports of The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

V. In group discussion, consider whether the desire for profit alone provides an incentive to one

whose fortune is estimated in the tens of millions and whose income already is so great that it cannot possibly be spent for material needs, but only can be invested.

Point the general discussion which grows out of this first consideration to the question: Do the forces which motivate big business men in such an industrialized society as ours have any similarities with or differences from those which motivate political leaders, labor union officials, and others?

Assuming that in some cases the psychological motivation itself may be the same, discuss whether the action to which it leads may be different. Consider how the same psychological motivations may lead to different actions depending upon whether people are business leaders, political leaders, labor leaders, or consumer organization champions.

Breaking the Ground Last month, King George VI told Parliament that Queen Elizabeth and he would come to America next year. In the United States, newspaper headlines cried: "England Woos U. S." A cartoon by Jerry Doyle in the *New York Post* showed Neville Chamberlain stowing away in the royal party's luggage as they prepared to leave. Plans to greet the King and Queen with protest-demonstrations were announced. Walter Lippmann warned: don't come; for England's sake, don't come.

For, when royalty travels, propaganda travels with them. In fact, visits of royalty are often pure and simple propaganda acts, designed solely to create sentiment for loans, treaties, military alliances, or trade pacts. Queen Marie's real purpose in coming to America some years ago was to raise money. Need for money also was behind King Albert's visit shortly after the war. The Duke of Windsor at one time was known as "England's greatest salesman." As Prince of Wales, he went from country to country — to play golf, to dance with commoners, to ride. And wherever he went, it became that much easier to sell goods "Made in England." His travels were an investment that paid huge dividends.

An early issue of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS will describe these past visits of royalty, and discuss the propagandas that have already begun to gather around the forthcoming visit of the King and Queen. Prepare for it during the next few weeks by watching the newspapers carefully for news of the impending visit, and for developments in relations between England and the United States.

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The Attack on Democracy

TO AMERICA'S would-be dictators, *Mein Kampf* is Horatio Alger, Jr., streamlined. Mr. Alger's hero didn't smoke or swear or drink, he saved his money, loved his mother, and rose from rags to riches, Q. E. D. The hero of *Mein Kampf* shrieked "Jew!" and "Communist!", and he, too, rose from rags to riches — from poverty-stricken housepainter to Chancellor of Germany. There is the moral, for demagogues like William Dudley Pelley, George W. Christians, Gerald Winrod, and George Deatherage to see: cry "Jew!" and "Communist!", shout "Jew!" and "Communist!" You, too, can be dictator.¹

Today in the United States there are some 800 organizations that could be called pro-fascist or pro-Nazi. Some flaunt the word "Fascist" in their name, or use the swastika as their insignia. Others — the great majority — talk blithely of democracy, or "Constitutional Democracy," but work hand in glove with the outspokenly-fascist groups and distribute their literature. All sing the same tune — words and music by Adolf Hitler, orchestration by Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels, the powerful Reichsminister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. That song bewitched the German people, as the song of the Lorelei bewitched the mariners of antiquity; it lured them headlong onto the reefs of fascism. It can be sung with variations, but always the refrain is "Jew!" and "Communist!"

¹ In the interests of readability, footnotes have been omitted from this issue of *Propaganda Analysis*. However, every statement made is based upon documents in the files of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, which have been contributed by the Rev. L. M. Birkhead, head of the Friends of Democracy, Kansas City, Missouri.

The story of Gerald Winrod, praised by James True as "the Jayhawk Nazi," is typical. In the days when evolution was hitting the front pages, Dr. Winrod stalked through Kansas and, indeed, the whole mid-west, decrying evolution. Later, when anti-evolution sentiment waned, he jumped on the anti-Catholic bandwagon and became an outspoken Pope-baiter. However, Pope-baiting likewise became passé, so Dr. Winrod learned the Nazi patter, and today, while he still cracks at evolution and Catholicism in passing, his real hate is democracy.

Detroit's radio priest, the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, burst into the limelight during those black days in 1933 when banks and stocks were crumbling; his popularity reached its peak in the early days of the New Deal, then began to dwindle; and by 1936 there was almost nothing left of his once great following, and he promised to abandon his radio broadcasts.

He changed his mind. The American people had yawned in his face when he cried "Roosevelt and Ruin!" In Germany, however, the Nazis had cried "Jew!" and "Communist!", and they had stampeded the people into fascism. Perhaps the Nazis had the right technique. So back on the air went Father Coughlin, and now his theme is the Nazi theme — Communism and "World Jewry."

Among the wildest Pope-baiting publications in the United States is *The Monitor*. Under its old name, *The Menace*, it blanketed the country with hair-raising tales of Catholic iniquity. Lately, though, its circulation has been on the decline. A shot in the arm is needed. *The Monitor* has, therefore, begun to flirt with anti-Semitism, to spice its anti-Catholicism with Naziism.

George Deatherage, who runs the Knights of the White Camellia and the American Nationalist Confederation, makes no bones about it. Mr. Deatherage says frankly that he would like to become the "American Hitler," but he doesn't think he could because he isn't very good at rabble-rousing. Mr. Deatherage is looking right now for someone to rabble-rouse for him, while he master-minds behind the scenes.

Somewhat less modest, Raymond J. Healy already has called himself the "American Hitler," clanking about in storm trooper uniform, and giving the Nazi salute. Mr. Healy once edited *The Storm*, which used to say that it was the official publication of the Militant Christian Patriots until the *Christian Free Press* announced that it was the official publication, would Mr. Healy please take heed? Tough, cynical George W. Christians, the swaggering commander-in-chief of the Crusader White Shirts, laughs at the would-be dictators as "Tin Hitlers," and then admits that he's one, too.

On the other hand, William Dudley Pelley, who leads the Silvershirts, becomes indignant when anyone even intimates that he aspires to dictatorial power. "Only gross men, lacking in real brains, aspire to gain jobs as dictators," Mr. Pelley declaims. And he gets equally indignant when anyone says that he would like to see America go fascist. In the next breath, he insists (the emphasis is his): "Chief Pelley was the first . . . to come out openly and unabashedly for the policies of Adolf Hitler, commending and championing them *as policies*, let alone the country to which they were applied."

The Fascist Technique

The fascist technique is simple. First, make the words "Jew" and "Communist" so odious that people will shrink from anything or anybody on which they may be pinned. Then, you have only to call those people you don't like "Communist" or "Jewish" in order to destroy them.

Card-stacking is the propaganda technique by which the fascists hope to make the names "Jew" and "Communist" bad names. And in this, of course, they follow Adolf Hitler's observation that ". . . Propaganda . . . does not have to seek objectively for the truth so far as it favors an opponent . . . but exclusively has to serve our interests." It must adopt every device of slander that ingenuity can suggest, for ". . .

whenever our propaganda permits for a single moment the shimmer of an appearance of right on the other side, it has laid a foundation for doubt in the right of our cause . . . especially among a people that so suffers from objectivity-mania as the German!"

Hence, the American fascists, like the German Nazis, have no qualms whatsoever about telling out-and-out lies, misquoting documents, or even forging documents. In fact, the chief basis for their attack on the Jews is the infamous *Protocols of Zion* which have been so discredited that many of the organizations which now distribute them no longer insist upon their authenticity. Father Coughlin, for example, taking his cue from Henry Ford, says that while the *Protocols* may not be authentic, they are nevertheless "factual." The same tack is taken by the Anglo-Saxon Federation, whose chief of publications is William J. Cameron, the Ford Sunday Evening Hour commentator.

To prove the so-called factuality of the *Protocols* the Jew-baiters blame the Jews for every war, every disaster, that has ever happened. The Jews started the American Revolution, they started the Civil War, they killed Abraham Lincoln, they started the World War. Capitalizing on the Nye investigation, which created the widespread impression that J. P. Morgan dragged America into the war to protect his investments, the Jew-baiters say that Mr. Morgan is Jewish, that his real name is Morgestern. And Colonel E. M. House also was Jewish, they declare, insisting that his middle name, Mandel, was his family name, and that Mandel is obviously Jewish.

It therefore seems likely, conclude the Jew-baiters, that "World Jewry" is plotting the destruction of civilization. So, what if the *Protocols* were forged? They are true, anyway.

Sometimes the card-stacking device is combined with appeals to authority—the well-worn testimonial device—to make the name "Jew" odious. A booklet published by the Silvershirts, entitled *Famous Jew-baiters of History*, consists entirely of testimonials. Listed are quotations from men like Charles E. Hughes, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor; John F. Hylan, former Mayor of the City of New York; and President James A. Garfield. It would be impossible to identify these men with Jew-baiting, and, in fact, the quotations cited



CRUSADER WHITE SHIRTS

General Orders:

No unit of the Crusader White Shirts should attempt any positive action until it has been thoroughly drilled and officered and perfect discipline has been obtained, nor should it attempt to move until it is sufficiently strong to accomplish its purpose without any chance of failure.

The first objective should be to take control of the local government in the following manner: March in military formation to and surround the governmental buildings. Then, by sheer numbers and a patriotic appeal, force the officials to accept and act under the direction of an economic adviser appointed by the President of the C. F. E. L. This adviser's first duty will be to repudiate the public debt and utilize the payments assigned thereto for the public welfare.

Dishonest officials should immediately be brought to justice. You should remember that most politicians are unfamiliar with modern business methods, and that their accounts are apt to be badly muddled and may be short. To the honest and efficient government of control and some poor, muddle-headed but honest politicians get hung without a fair and legal trial.

When this is accomplished, Crusader White Shirts should assist law enforcement officials in maintaining the kind of order we consider essential.

Preparations should then be made at once for the Crusade to Washington. Crusader White Shirts requisitions will be furnished for the purpose of obtaining funds and other things needed. This work should be assigned to a thoroughly trustworthy and carefully instructed X committee.

Generous donations can be obtained from most people for the Crusade by merely appealing to their patriotism. However, a patriotic appeal will probably not have much effect on the people who have most of the money nowadays. There will be a great temptation to use a few pineapples to loosen up those fat pocketbooks, but this temptation should be righteously resisted.

As soon as you are fully equipped and prepared to go to Washington, report to the Commander-in-Chief of the Crusader White Shirts at Chattanooga, Tennessee, stating the number of men, how equipped and the time required to reach Washington, but do not move until ordered. Nothing must fail.

This is a lawful organization and it can not be stopped by lawful means. If anyone uses unlawful means to start a fight, just be sure that YOU finish it.

Read these orders VERY carefully. Strike hard, straight and swiftly. Get what you start out to get.

Signed

Geo. W. Christman

Commander-in-Chief, Crusader White Shirts.
President, Crusaders for Economic Liberty.



THE AMERICAN NATIONALIST CONFEDERATION THE NEWS BULLETIN

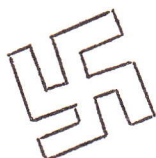
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April 23, 1938

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EDITORIAL



ORGAN
of the
NATIONAL DEFENDERS of '76

TRUTH

A Paper For American Workers

Vol. I, No. 20

September 1, 1937

5¢

NATIONAL AMERICAN BULLETIN

"The Common Welfare above Private Greed"

PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY FOR THE RESTORATION OF "AMERICA FOR THE AMERICANS" AT 147 EAST 116TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

VOL. 2 NO. 9

OCTOBER 27TH, 1937

5 CENTS

Pro-American

THE AMERICAN GUARD



Freedom

Justice

"THE WHITE MAN'S PARTY"

Only in the past few months have American fascist organizations begun to use the swastika as their insignia, and most of them are still rather apologetic about it. They insist that the swastika is not a Nazi emblem, but an American one: that it was used originally by the Indians. (Actually, however, the Indian swastika is quite different

from the Nazi one.) Or else they say that the swastika is a "Christian symbol"; that it really is just another form of the Cross. Occasionally, though, they admit having borrowed it from Germany, demanding in effect: "So what?"

make no mention whatsoever of the Jews, even by implication. The reasoning of the Silver-shirts, however, is something like this: Garfield and Hylan attacked the bankers, they must have been Jew-baiting because most bankers are Jews; Justice Hughes said that voters should be well-informed, he must have been attacking the Jews because voters are ill-informed and the Jews own most of the newspapers in the United States. Of course, *Fortune* magazine has proved that very few bankers, and no leading ones, are Jewish; *Editor & Publisher* has shown that an insignificant number of newspapers are run by Jews; the Communist Party is headed by men who could qualify as full-blooded Aryans in Germany, itself. However, the people who read such propaganda as *Famous Jew-baiters of History* don't read *Fortune* or *Editor & Publisher*.

How It Works

After making "Jew" and "Communist" bad names, the fascists can strike at everybody and everything opposed to fascism simply by labeling them "Jew" or "Communist." Thus, when Dorothy Thompson attacks the German Government, *Liberation*, the Silvershirt weekly, snaps back that her real name is Dorothy Thompson Levy; Alfred M. Landon attacks Dr. Winrod, and immediately *Liberation* points out that M. stands for Mossman, which proves conclusively that Mr. Landon also is Jewish. The New Deal is Jewish, the Republican Party is Jewish, the Democratic Party is Jewish, Cordell Hull is Jewish, Franklin D. Roosevelt is Jewish, Rexford G. Tugwell is Jewish, the Masons are Jewish, the C. I. O. is Jewish, the A. F. of L. is Jewish. So they say.

The Christian Aryan Syndicate proves to its own satisfaction that Wallis Simpson is Jewish and that her marriage to Edward VIII, the present Duke of Windsor, probably was plotted by "International Jewry." *Liberation* maintains that Roosevelt's name is really "Rossocampo-Roosenvelt." James True damns the G. O. P. because he thinks Glenn Frank may be Jewish. Alf Landon, being Jewish, is using the G. O. P. to set up another "Hebrew State like the Soviet Union," says Mr. True.

The Society of Jesuits, says *The Monitor*, was founded by Jews. As for the Pope, his mother was Jewish. Dr. Winrod's paper, the *Defender*, has no use for the Federal Council of Churches

of Christ in America. It's not Jewish, but it's Communistic, and that's just as bad. Msgr. John A. Ryan is Communist, too. You have the word of the American Nationalist Confederation for that.

As for democracy—the Jews created democracy to help them get control of the world. Democracy is twice-damned, for democracy is Communist as well as Jewish.

A pamphlet distributed by the American Nationalist Confederation, entitled *Aryan Americanism*, denounces the democracies for their "floundering attitude, corruption, indecision, and compromise." Ernest Sincere, whose real name reputedly is Colonel E. M. Hadley, leader of the Paul Reveres, writes in *The Plan in Action*: "It is easy for those with evil designs to gain control of a government which operates as a democracy. . . . Democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention. . . . 'Jewocracy,' or, in other words, Communism, easily takes a Democracy, turns it upside down, makes the many think they are to govern themselves, but in actuality, the many are controlled by the worst sort of Autocracy. . . ." The American Nationalist Confederation, announcing that "Fascism Is America's Only Solution,"

THE AMERICAN FASCISTS



CRUSADER WHITE SHIRTS

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

On some of their envelopes, the Crusader White Shirts boast of being "The American Fascists." Other envelopes, however, carry the phrase: "The American Reds." The contradiction is not apparent to George W. Christians, their commander-in-chief.



Diese Blätter sind bestimmt, unter Nichtjuden von Hand zu Hand zu gehen. Per in acht Sprachen erscheinende „Weltdienst“ ist nicht auf Gelderwerb eingestellt. Er beabsichtigt vielmehr, in erster Linie die schlecht orientierten Nichtjuden aufzuklären — welchen Staat auch immer sie ihr Vaterland nennen mögen. Diese Informationen über das Treiben der jüdischen Unterwelt gehören daher zum geistigen Rüstzeug jedes Nichtjuden. Sehr erwünscht ist die Weitergabe an die gutgesinnte Presse. —

Wer unter unseren Gesinnungsgeroffenen in aller Welt die Tatsache erkennt, daß systematische Arbeit und Wahrheitsfindung ohne Geldhilfe nicht geleistet werden können, der wird sich sicherlich entschließen, im Rahmen seiner wirtschaftlichen Möglichkeiten uns für die weitere kraftvolle Ausgestaltung unseres Unternehmens freiwillig sein Scherflein einzusenden. Jedermann möge versichert sein, daß jeder Pfennig auf das gewissenhafteste verwendet werden wird.

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The „World-Service“, which is issued in eight languages is not published with a view to profits. Its principal aim is to enlighten ill-informed Gentiles, irrespective of the state, or country to which they may belong. These information-sheets, which deal with the machinations of the Jewish under-world, form accordingly a necessary part of the intellectual armoury of every Gentile. The communication of the matters dealt with to the well-intentioned press is considered highly desirable.

Those holding similar views to our own throughout the world, who recognize the fact that systematic work and search after the truth, cannot be carried on without pecuniary outlay, will of a surety decide to send us some such small contribution as their means may permit. This will enable us to carry out a considerable and effective extension of our work. Every contributor may rest assured that every farthing, and every cent subscribed will be put to the most conscientious uses only.

Payments: Great Britain: To Barclay's Bank Ltd., 168 Fenchurch St., London, E.C. 3 — for the Dresdner Bank, Erfurt, a/c „Welt-Dienst“.	Published by Ulrich Fleischhauer at the U. Bodung-Verlag, Erfurt. Address: „World Service“, Daberstedterstr. 4 Erfurt (Germany).	New subscription prices: 6 months — 1.25 Dollars (U.S.A.) 5.— sh. (Engl.) 12 months — 2.50 Dollars (U.S.A.) 10.— sh. (Engl.)	The reproduction of this bulletin is permitted (and desired), on condition that the source of the information (World-Service) is indicated and that the Publishers receive 3 copies of any newspaper containing items reproduced.
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Several hundred pro-Nazi weeklies in the United States use *World-Service*. It comes out bi-monthly, on the first and the fifteenth, in eight languages: Russian, French, Hungarian, Polish, Danish, Spanish, English, and German. The news, of course, follows the familiar Nazi pattern: there is absolutely no persecution of Jews or Catholics

in Germany; Adolf Hitler wants peace, Anthony Eden and Franklin D. Roosevelt are war-mongers; the Spanish Government is run by the Soviet Union; the Japanese don't want China, they only want to stamp out "Communism" there; anybody who doesn't like fascism is either Jewish or pro-Communist or both.

urges the abolition of "parliamentarianism as being corrupt, antiquated, and being controlled entirely by international bankers through party conventions."

At other times, when it suits their purpose, the American fascists can become quite tender in their attitude toward democracy, and charge that "World Jewry" is seeking to undermine it. This was their cry during the Supreme Court fight. More often, they praise democracy and fascism at one and the same time: in fact, they insist that America must go fascist if our democratic institutions are to endure. Thus, Robert Edmondson urges press dictatorship to achieve "freedom of the press." The American Nationalist Confederation demands "A Fascist Union for the Americas" in order to maintain American principles and "our republican form of government." *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter* — *The Free American*, official publication of the German-American Bund and the German-American Business League, Inc., distributes the pamphlet, *Snake in the Grass*, which denies that Adolf Hitler is dictator of Germany, insisting that Germany today is far more democratic than it has ever been.

Often, in the very same issue, *The Free American* will sing the praises of democracy in one article, only to assail democracy in the next. On page one, the Constitution is quoted to uphold the right of every American to vote in spite of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; on the editorial page, H. D. Kissinger writes in denunciation of universal suffrage. "It is worse than folly," says Mr. Kissinger, "to apply EQUALITY between races of diverse natures and balance . . . UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE (has impeded) the natural evolution of Nordic Tribes . . . and their natural leaders are maligned and ousted . . ."

The German Tie-up

It would be surprising if the German Government didn't feel warmly toward American demagogues, who ape Hitler in attacking democracy and democratic institutions by calling them "Jew" or "Communist," and if, therefore, it didn't try, as much as possible, to help them. Adolf Hitler used to say that National Socialism wasn't for export; that it was for Germany, and Germany alone. He feels differently now. In Nuremberg, Julius Streicher has set up what he calls an international clearing-house for Jew-

baiters. The director is Paul Würm. Herr Würm has on file in his office the names of hundreds of anti-semitic organizations in every country in the world, including the United States, and he sends them piles of Nazi propaganda, translated from the German. In Hamburg is the Fichte Association (Fichte-Bund), which also floods America with propaganda. Father Coughlin's speech, in which he charged that most of the leaders of the Russian Revolution were Jewish, was based upon material printed in English and distributed in America by the Fichte Association. Still another German propaganda bureau is World-Service. Located in Erfurt, it sends out news releases in eight languages.

The material goes not only to American fascist organizations, but also to individuals who are believed to have Nazi sympathies and to Nazi agents. They, in turn, distribute it where it will do the most good. Ernst Goerner in Milwaukee and Maude Deland in New York send out the Nazi propaganda by the pound. One batch of material received by an Institute for Propaganda Analysis subscriber from the American National Confederation included eight copies of World Service, both the English and German editions; two speeches by Dr. Goebbels; one dozen Jew-baiting stickers; and one dozen leaflets from the Fichte Association.

Also included were the publications of the Canadian Union of Fascists, the Russian National Revolution Party, the Japanese Government, and Svea Rike (Swedish).

The American fascists have even closer ties with the German Government. For example, at the last conference held by World-Service, George Deatherage was present, representing the Knights of the White Camellia and the American Nationalist Confederation. He addressed the conference on the subject, "Will America be the Jews' Waterloo?" Similarly, the man who staged the recent demonstration in New York City in protest against WMCA's refusal to broadcast Father Coughlin's talks was Allen Zoll, who, in addition to commanding American Patriots, Inc., works in the German-American Bund. Fritz Kuhn, the Bund leader, helped Mr. Zoll to stage the rally by distributing several thousand circulars.

How much influence the American fascists have, and how many people their propaganda reaches would be difficult to say. Their mem-

National American

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berships are secret. Only the leaders are known. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of them are merely local in scope; they are confined to one state, or even to one community. All boast of their influence: Robert Edmondson has said that he reaches 10,000,000 people with his literature. That, however, is undoubtedly an exaggeration, to say the very least.



Probably accurate, though, is the estimate that Gerald Winrod reached 150,000 Kansans with his magazine, *The Defender*, and other publications during last year's primaries. If other fascist leaders are even nearly as efficient as Dr. Winrod, it might be reasonable to estimate that one voter in every three in the United States is being subjected to fascist propaganda. This is the guess of the Rev. L. M. Birkhead, of Kansas City, who has studied the fascist organizations rather intensively during the past four years. His guess is based upon some evidence, but it is a guess, nonetheless.

Just now, George Deatherage is attempting to line up the 800-odd fascist groups into one

unified organization. It was for this purpose that he started the American Nationalist Confederation, which already publicizes itself as "the official Fascist Party." Thus far, the group has confined its activities to distributing, along with its own propaganda, the propaganda of the German Government, of fascists in other countries, and of the leading fascist groups in the United States—the Defenders of the Faith, the Silverhirts, the German-American Bund, the Militant Christian Patriots, and, of course, the old Ku Klux Klan, which the growth of the C. I. O. in the South has revived.

What Mr. Deatherage needs before his American Nationalist Confederation really can emerge in politics is someone to head it who is adept at rabble-rousing. As has already been pointed out, rabble-rousing is not his forte. Apparently, he now thinks he may have found the man in Major General George Van Horn Moseley, retired. A recent letter, signed by Mr. Deatherage, reads:

"... We are delaying further reorganization in the hopes that we can get Gen. George Van Horn Moseley, Hotel Biltmore, Atlanta, recently retired, to head up a national Christian organization that we can all back. If all interested will write him requesting such action, it will help a lot. Will you not do so?"

General Moseley's Talents

Major General Moseley, who recently was denounced as flagrantly disloyal by the Secretary of War, probably could bring to Mr. Deatherage not only his talents as speaker and leader of men, but financial backing as well. It wasn't

until Adolf Hitler managed to gain the support of German industrialists that his movement gained prominence: without similar backing, Mr. Deatherage's "Fascist Party" will probably remain in obscurity. However, Major General Moseley is respectable, and is supported by men



In republican Germany, Nazi storm troopers had to work hurriedly, and often at night when they defaced Jewish shop windows; so Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels devised trick stickers for them. Pasted upside down or rightside up, the illustration still "made sense." Nowadays, Dr. Goebbels is putting out the stickers with the slogans in English for American distribution. His translators aren't too good, however. Note the foreign-sounding phrase: "You help the Communism."

of respectability and wealth. Only last month he was invited to address the New York Board of Trade, which lists among its members some of the country's leading industrialists. His audience cheered when he said:

"... Our domestic enemies (the 'Communists,' President Roosevelt, and Bernard Baruch) should be warned, therefore, not to excite the wrath of patriotic America, for once these patriots go into battle they will cure the disease definitely and make those massacres now recorded in history look like peaceful church parades..."

Wild as Major General Moseley's talk may sound, it doesn't begin to compare with the diatribes that have been gotten off by some of the men who probably would become his lieutenants were he definitely to line up with Mr. Deatherage. One letter in the Institute's possession, signed by Mr. Christians, sneers at the Black Legion for having been "pikers." An-

other, signed by Henry Allen, of the American White Guard, reads in part:

"The American White Guard gives *solemn warning* to the international goulash of oriental scum which today permeates our government in Washington. Let those who dare attempt to betray America and there will be more Jewish corpses cluttering up American gutters than ever were found in the most ambitious of European pogroms..."

It would be easy to laugh at such men as Mr. Allen, to dismiss them casually as crackpots; but it was easy to laugh at Hitler, too. This does not mean that democracy in the United States is threatened by Mr. Allen's mouthings, it does not mean that both the Democratic Party and the G. O. P. are through now that Mr. Deatherage and his American Nationalist Confederation have decided to enter politics. Certainly, every poll that has thus far been taken seems to indicate that an overwhelming majority of the American people are strongly opposed to anything savoring of fascism: as far as Germany's anti-Semitic policy is concerned, the opposition is almost unanimous.

However, anti-democratic movements have swept the country before, and if they have not captured it, they have nevertheless come much too close for comfort—like the Ku Klux Klan. It would, therefore, be well to understand these movements: how they arise, wherein their appeal lies, and why. In the PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS WORKSHEET that follows this brief description of fascist organizations in the United States, an effort to give the background for such an understanding is made.



The Knights of the White Camellia is one of the oldest Jew-baiting organizations in the country, as old, probably, as the Ku Klux Klan.

Propaganda Analysis Worksheet

The chief purpose of inquiry into today's propagandas is to bring into the open much that is obscure, until it may no longer be possible for an Anatole France to observe with truth that "Democracy (and, indeed, all society) is run by an unseen engineer."

The foregoing analysis, it is important to understand, is a sample study of some of the anti-democratic propagandas which are being widely circulated in the United States at the present time. In this beginning inquiry we are, by and large, concerned with attempts to control opinion by significant symbols. These symbols take the form of stories, rumours, lies, fictitious reports, pictures, and other forms of social communication. Again, we see that propaganda is concerned with the management of opinions and attitudes through manipulation of people's anxieties, prejudices, and other basic emotionalized attitudes.

Clearly as students of the forces which mould public opinion we are brought face to face with the necessity of examining these emotionalized attitudes—these anxieties and prejudices. It is to these that the propagandist must address himself in order to be successful. We must, therefore, see that we ourselves are the fertile soil in which propaganda flourishes; that without us there can be no propaganda; that we create it and propagate it.

Concretely, the problems of individuals and of groups studying and discussing the anti-democratic propagandas summarized in this bulletin seem to be: What relationships exist between special anxieties, such as the anticipatory fear of losing one's job, and receptivity to propaganda which seeks to make us cast away all reason and hate one particular person or group? What relationships exist between such factors as childhood conditioning to hate and to fear Jews and Catholics and "foreigners" and vulnerability to anti-democratic propagandas such as those circulated by the Silvershirts?

To be used as a companion piece to this month's bulletin is the special study of the "Propaganda Techniques of German Fascism," published by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis in May, 1938. In studying the propagandas of anti-democratic groups in America today (especially because of their close connec-

tion with German propaganda bureaus) it should be helpful to review the study of the growth and success of German Nazi propaganda. We find that National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazi) propaganda did not operate in a vacuum. It grew, it flowered, it came to fruition because the soil was fertile—made fertile by Germany's post-war poverty, economic breakdown, and humiliation in the eyes of the world of nations following the Versailles Treaty.

Is there similar rich soil ready for the planting of fascism in the United States? Will the same propaganda techniques—hatred of Jews, of Catholics, of "foreigners"—operate successfully here? America has had nearly ten years of business depression. America has an abundance of prejudiced emotionalized attitudes. America, in many sections of the country, is anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic, anti-Italian, anti-"foreign." After a decade of economic woes millions of Americans are beset by economic insecurity—fear of losing their jobs, their homes, their status in society. It would seem that the same propaganda techniques that were successful in Germany might be successful in the United States among thousands who have been made ripe for them by childhood conditioning, combinations of adult experiences, and depression conditions.

The following suggestions for group and classroom study are examples of some of the pertinent questions which call for thoroughgoing discussion and research. It is important to remember in group work that when a discussion is stopped short in a moment of explosive conflict and examined for the sources of differences in the varying background and associations of the members, we witness a kind of miniature of the present world. Like the world, the group is torn by motives and antagonisms which it cannot understand. It knocks head against head, one fear against another; it matches prejudice with contrary prejudice.

Much of the coloring that sweeping dislikes and cutting resentments lend to language, with its sharp-edged words and vindictive adjectives, is but the continuing roll of storm and thunder that surrounded our childhood days. Until some controversy, some excitement brings them out, we may be quite unaware of how much in the way of attitudes towards certain peoples

THE REVEALER

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Gerald B. Winrod, Editor. Wichita, Kansas. October 15, 1936

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ROOSEVELT'S JEWISH ANCESTRY

and groups we have merely carried over from the past and from that section of land where we grew up. Until we somehow bring out into expression these sweeping dislikes and these wholesale condemnations, symptoms of a continuing social sickness, we may never be cured.

Looking At Ourselves

I GROUP WORK PROJECT

The study of propaganda means the examination of various attitudes, insecurities, and fears through which propagandists work. In fact, propaganda study is the study of human behavior, and one of the chief goals of propaganda analysis as a learning process is to come to a fuller understanding of *why we think and act as we do*. In this connection, it may not be possible at once to understand that expressions of misunderstanding—born of panic and various anxieties and fears—have been put into us by others and by events; it may not be possible at once to become objective towards one's conditioning by past events. But, increasingly, it may be possible in the meeting of one's problems of behavior to learn to become more objective through understanding why we as human beings think and act as we do.

In this connection, a technique for getting Institute members to see how they themselves take part, consciously or unconsciously in the process we have come to call propaganda, is being developed in the Institute's experimental study program in high schools, in universities, and in adult groups. This technique is the writing of short life histories or autobiographies in which each student attempts to trace the beginnings and the development of his present desires, opinions, attitudes, ideals, and prejudices.

Suggested titles for the life histories are: "Why I Think and Act as I Do" and "Why I Am What I Am." Concrete suggestions for this discussion-work project, complete with sample pertinent questions to be used in the writing of the life histories and with reading references are given in the *Group Leader's Guide to Propaganda Analysis*, pages 97 through 104.

Wanted: A Whipping Boy

II GROUP DISCUSSION NOTES

A blow-out! The driver of the automobile clammers out, cursing his luck. He sets to work. He gets grease on his Sunday suit. He smashes a finger. Sucking the injured member, he kicks the tire in rage. He swears at it.

"My brother was to blame." "It was all her fault." "The machine is to blame for unemployment." "The Republicans and Hoover brought economic disaster." "Roosevelt and the W.P.A. are ruining the country."

"The Irish are to blame for political corruption in our large cities." "Irish have uncontrollable tempers: they are always fighting." "The Jews have been responsible for all wars and depressions." "Jews are rude, unpleasant people."

It seems a truism to say that it is much easier, much more pleasant to blame somebody else for whatever goes wrong in our lives than it is to examine ourselves and our society for relationships of cause and effect. Many people, it would seem, *want to believe* that the Jews are responsible for all the ills that beset society. It is easier to find a convenient scapegoat for the unpleasant and harrowing in our lives than it is to seek out what we ourselves could have done, than it is to seek out what should be done.

The question now arises: Why should the Jew be picked as the traditional "whipping-boy" rather than some other group? Is it because Jewish people are small enough in numbers to "whip" without any great trouble? Is it because they are a large enough group to give some tangible existence to what one is whipping? Of the 130 million people in the United States, according to U. S. Census figures the number of Jewish Americans is slightly more than four million.

In this connection, discuss specifically: (a) the role of scapegoat in your family life; (b) the role of scapegoat in your school or social life; (c) scapegoats in the political life of present-day United States; (d) traditional scapegoats in the sweep of history—Roman, Greek, English, early American.

In follow-up study and discussion consider: (a) the hatred many people feel for people who are "different"—the way youngsters jeer at an elderly Chinaman's shuffling walk, at the unfamiliar dialect of an Italian immigrant, at the food served in a Rumanian household.

These Foreigners

III GROUP DISCUSSION AND READING PROJECT

Although we are all descended from people who were foreigners when they came to this country, nevertheless when we develop "American" customs we usually forget that our language, our cultural heritage, our family customs—all are immigrant gifts to American life.

For history and social studies classes: Develop a unit of study on, "Where Americans Came From. . ." Make classifications of the cultural debts we as Americans owe to countries such as France, England, Germany, Italy, Turkey, Russia, Norway, Belgium.

For economics, consumer education, and political science study groups: Develop a unit of study and discussion on, "Immigrant Builders of Our Country." Trace the economic growth of America. Ask: Would America have become the far-flung country it is if it had not been for immigrant contributions to such economic areas as, Chinese labor on the building of the railroads in the West; the manual labor of the Italians and, notably, of the Poles in the building of our industrial machine; the contributions of Balkan peoples to the opening of our

mines; the industrial development of great Eastern cities by the Jews and the Irish?

For literature, home economics, art, music, dancing, and dramatics study groups: The selected reading references given at the conclusion of this Worksheet provide much pertinent material for use in tracing rich immigrant gifts to America.

Special Note: In the light of their study of factual accounts of the contributions of immigrants to America, all classes and study groups should evaluate such specific propagandas as the following. This excerpt is taken from the self-styled "American Guard, The White Man's Party."

"Our so-called statesmen have undermined the racial health of the nation by making our country the 'melting pot' of the world and they have also lowered the general wage standard of our working class by permitting inferior races used to a low standard of living to enter the U.S.A. and to compete with Gentile labor."

Propaganda and the "Race" Problem

IV A GUIDE TO FACT HUNTING

An unbiased review of historical evidence and of facts established by modern science—biology, psychology, anthropology—shows that a belief in hereditary racial characteristics and the jealous care for "purity" of race is based on the assumption of non-existing conditions. In spite of the advances of modern science, in spite of our far-flung system of public education, however, race prejudice is still an important factor in the lives of the majority of peoples. Used as a propaganda weapon, race prejudice, today, presents a distinct menace to the maintenance of our democratic way of life in the United States.

Even among persons who do not give voice to racial prejudices as such, the concept of racial type as commonly used is misleading and requires a logical as well as a biological re-definition. Such ignorant prejudices as those against Jews, Italians, Germans, Irish, and the like assume new significance in society today—especially so in the light of their propaganda manipulation in the totalitarian countries of the world, and their attempted manipulation by 800 anti-democratic organizations in the United States today.

If we are to study the forces which mould public opinion, if we are to see clearly the relationships between propaganda techniques and our own emotionalized attitudes, we must do so in the temper of science—not sparing our own particular prejudices, our own states of mental and physical health, our own lack of factual information. Since present-day fascist propagandas center about fallacious concepts of “racial characteristics,” students of public opinion today will want to investigate for themselves the truth or fallacy of each theory popularly propounded by exponents of fascism.

The following suggestions for individual and group investigation should be considered as leads into some of the propagandas which are being circulated in our own country.

1. People who attack the Jews say that there are such things as racial characteristics and that the Jewish “race” has characteristics that they do not like. Let us ask a few questions. First, what is a race? Second, what races are there? Are there English, French, German, Scandinavian, American races? Are there Spanish and Portuguese races? If so, what indeed differentiates the Spanish “race” from the Portuguese “race”? The French from the Belgian? The Czechoslovakian from the Jugoslavian?
2. What is a Jew? Does he have a country? A government? A single religion? A special culture? A social grouping?
3. Does admixture of races cause “degeneration”? Upon what factors do the final results of race-mixture necessarily depend? In this connection, study groups will find it interesting and valuable to trace facts relating to the origins of our nation, to trace successive waves of immigration in Great Britain, in Western Europe.
4. Much has been said and written on the hereditary character of the Italian, German, Frenchman, Irish, Jew, and Gypsy, but, according to Professor Franz Boas, the anthropologist, “no slightest successful attempt has been made to establish causes for the behavior of a people other than historical and social conditions, and I consider it unlikely that this can ever be done.”

Contrast such scientifically-established statements as this in Boas’ *The Mind of Primitive Man*, Chapter 13, with Adolf Hit-

ler’s *Mein Kampf*, Chapter XI on “Nation and Race.”

5. After doing the necessary reference reading, consider the effects of social disapproval and persecution of various groups, notably the Jews, the Poles, and the Japanese. What personality characteristics emerge in individuals or groups who are subject to social disapproval or ostracism? In this connection, consider the factual evidence that “the many different constitutional types composing a race cannot be considered as absolutely permanent, (and) that the physiological and psychological reactions of the body are in a constant state of flux according to the outer and inner circumstances in which the organism finds itself.” (Boas, F., *The Mind of Primitive Man*, Ch. 13, p. 255)
6. Classes and groups studying informal logic and critical thinking will want to examine the so-called *Protocols of Zion*, tracing their history in the propaganda field. The common type of argument in this document is to begin with a premise which is a conclusion. Example:

The Jews are responsible for wars and revolutions.

There have been wars and revolutions.

Therefore, the Jews have been responsible for them.

Propaganda Analysis

V GROUP STUDY OUTLINE¹

1. Cartoons are powerful propaganda media. they manipulate symbols and suggestion. Their persuasive appeal is familiar to all of us, particularly at election times. Then, the cartoonist does much of our “thinking” for us by picturing harpooned walruses, barrelled taxpayers, lifelines, and maidens-in-distress.

To what technique does the cartoonist owe his persuasive power? Do current cartoons of the New Deal, of the Republican Party, of

¹ Teachers and adult group leaders cooperating in the Institute’s experimental study program are asked to keep records of group discussion and individual work done in connection with the analysis of this piece of propaganda. They may wish to introduce many additional questions and activities. These are merely illustrative. Transcripts of group work should be sent to the Educational Director, Institute for Propaganda Analysis, 130 Morningside Drive, New York, N. Y.

American Gentile



A semi-monthly publication for the defense of Traditional American Gentile Culture and Civilization against the Powerful and Highly Organized non-Gentile Subversive Minority having its criminal expression in a militant anti-American alliance of International Capitalism, Communism, Socialism and destructive Liberalism.

- pension plans represent critical thinking? Do they dramatize basic issues? Do they appeal to emotionalized attitudes already present among people? Do they deal with pertinent, accurate facts concerning a subject? (Bring a generous number of today's cartoons to this discussion.)
2. Apply questions such as the following to the caricature of the "Jew" pictured above; to the caricature of the "Nordic."

Is it possible to pick out so-called Nordic, Jewish, Germanic, Italian, French, Danish, Polish, English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Canadian, American "types"? Is there any uniformity of appearance among these peoples, such as blond or brunette coloring, symmetrical profiles, large or small noses, full or thin lips? If not, how do you account for the prevalence of beliefs to the contrary? If so, what authoritative evidence can you cite for the existence of similarity of appearance among certain groups?
3. In the manner of a popular magazine novelist or motion-picture script writer, write a brief description of each of the following so-called types which fits in with generally accepted preconceptions concerning these peoples: a. An Irish washwoman; b. a Jewish merchant; c. an Italian fruit vendor; d. a Scotsman; e. an American business man traveling in Europe.

Follow the writing of these thumbnail sketches with questions as to the factual evidence that all members of these groups possess the same personality characteristics and mannerisms.
4. Consider the editorial passage printed under the cartoons. Dissect each statement, first selecting words which may be glittering generalities, which may be vague, meaningless terms, which may be used in contradictory sequence. Then, re-write the passage, substituting neutral, precise words (whose meaning you explain) for emotionally colored words which cause the conclusion to depend not on the objective meaning of the passage but on the emotions aroused by the words. Ask: What, precisely, is said by the passage?

Tabloid Thinking

VI FOR INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH

Those who read the illustration of American Nazi propaganda reproduced above from the *American Gentile* should try to do some practical work on its subject matter. If we were studying botany we would not be content merely to read books on botany. Instead we would gather weeds, leaves, roots. We would dissect and examine them with a microscope. We would magnify them. We would draw them in our notebooks. Propaganda, too, should be studied by practical methods. The kind of emotional thinking which characterizes the above illustration (and which we may classify here as "tabloid thinking") is as common as a weed. It is to be found in the leading articles of newspapers; in the words of people carrying on discussions on political, religious, or social questions; in the speeches made by men in public office; in the interpretations of the day's news by radio commentators.

In order to understand the prevalence and power of "tabloid thinking," that is, of reducing a complicated body of knowledge to a simple formula in which all the distinctions, qualifications, and uncertainties are left out, we should collect specimens from our reading, from our listening, from our conversation. We should put them down on paper. Then we should dissect them.

By doing actual day-to-day work with common practices of "tabloid thinking" all of us will find it possible to gain a better understanding of the practices and implications of propaganda and a better protection against our own intellectual exploitation by unscrupulous speakers and writers. By working with such practical exercises as those suggested in the following paragraphs, we, as individuals and as study groups, can gain a mastery in this field which will exceed any we might achieve through the mere reading of a study published by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis or by any other organization or author.

Carrying on our own research in media such as radio, newspapers, newsmagazines, motion pictures, public speeches, daily conversations, we will find such examples of tabloid thinking as the following:

"American institutions are the finest in the world. The Germans were responsible for the World War. Hitler is solely responsible for disturbing the peace of Europe. Snook's Mixture cures your cold. Labor agitators cause the woes of industry. Sixty families rule America. The New Deal is to blame for so many people's being on relief. Thin lips denote cruelty. Red-haired people are bad-tempered. Thick lips are a sign of degeneracy. Intellectual people have high foreheads. Bald-headed men are handicapped in business life. Old-line Southerners tell voters New Deal threatens white supremacy. Americans are rich and money-mad. Foreigners are degenerate. All Jews are money-grubbing. Spaniards are treacherous. Girls with beautiful smiles are healthy, wealthy, popular, and happy."

It is easy to be whole-heartedly "for" one side and "against" the other if we attribute all the virtues to the one and all the vices to the other. And in much of our thinking we do this very thing. We fall into the popular practice of "tabloid thinking."

In preparation for collection of today's specimens of "tabloid thinking," obtain a supply of

5 by 9 inch index cards. As you listen to your radio, as you read your newspaper, as you engage in conversation record examples of tabloid thinking, build your own "Anthology of Tabloid Thinking." You may wish to divide these illustrations into several different groups, classifying them as follows: health, success, happiness, superstition, economics, business, historical, and physical characteristics.

It is not enough merely to paste or record these illustrations. Break them down. Show their tricks of argument, lack of factual bases;

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Note: By its charter the Institute is a non-profit corporation organized to assist the public in detecting and analyzing propaganda, but it is itself forbidden to engage in propaganda or otherwise attempt to influence legislation.

The Institute does not have all the answers; it lays no claim to infallibility. It will try to be scientific, objective, and accurate. If it makes mistakes, it will acknowledge them. It asks those who receive its letters to check its work. Chiefly the Institute will try to acquaint its subscribers with methods whereby they may become proficient in making their own analyses. Especially in its early letters the Institute has stressed methods of analysis of propaganda and of the channels through which propaganda flows. It will continue this policy; also it will publish from time to time, as funds permit, analyses of specific propagandas. An example of such is this current letter.

point out the use of emotionally-toned words and explain briefly *why* their use is likely to be effective with the majority of people; re-write the passages, replacing the emotional words with neutral ones.

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War in China

JUST how much the Japanese are spending on propaganda in the United States is anybody's guess. One New York newspaperman, who used to cover Shanghai and Tokio and still keeps an eye on the Japanese propaganda mill, puts the figure at not less than \$3,500,000 yearly. Another shrewd observer insists that it probably is closer to \$5,000,000. Of course, both estimates are out-and-out guesswork; but they are guesswork based on fact — the fact that last year the Japanese Diet alone laid out \$2,000,000 for propaganda in the U.S.A. Japanese businessmen are spending plenty, too. And since Japan is virtually totalitarian, with military, business, and government keeping in almost perfect step (and with the man in the street told what to say and do), official Japanese propaganda and the propaganda that Japanese businessmen put out are indistinguishable. This makes Japan's propaganda machine here the biggest, the most impressive, and by far the most expensive of any foreign power. Whether it gets results is another matter. Chances are that it doesn't: in fact, Henry Kinney, long-time publicity director of the Japanese-owned South Manchuria Railway, has said as much. Nevertheless, the Japanese keep trying; and they don't seem to care how much it costs them.

Although it may not always look that way, the Japanese want America's friendship: indeed, they need it desperately. They can't afford to have the United States clamp down on the sale of munitions and scrap iron, which is what Chinese sympathizers and Chinese propagandists are demanding (the Japanese buy 54.4 per cent of their war materials from us). Nor do they view with traditional Oriental equanimity

the campaign to boycott Japanese goods, and particularly Japanese silk. Moreover, the Japanese well know that even if they win in China, even if they wipe out Chiang Kai-shek's government, they will still have tough sledding ahead. They will have to develop the war-devastated country, and that will take money. Japan hasn't got the money, but Wall Street has. And Wall Street is still in the United States.

So here is what the Japanese propagandists want: they want the United States to keep hands off the war, to buy Japanese goods, and to invest money in Manchukuo and Japanese-dominated China. They don't want the United States to build up its fleet because that will force Japan to build more ships, too, which Japan can't afford right now. They don't want the United States to revamp its foreign policy to provide for boycotting aggressor nations, as suggested (at times) by the President.

All this may not mean life or death to Japan. The Japanese insist that it doesn't. Nevertheless, it counts.

Head man in the Japanese propaganda mill is Count Aisuke Kabayama. He runs Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, the Society for International Cultural Relations, with headquarters in Tokio, and branch offices in Berlin, Rome, Paris, London, and New York. Count Kabayama was in the United States recently, and with him was another Japanese nobleman, Kiyoshi Kroda. Together, Count Kabayama and Count Kroda took over the Japan Institute, made it Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai's "American correspondent," moved its offices to Rockefeller Center, where it now has an elaborate suite (10,000 square feet), elaborately furnished.

In letters to hundreds of key educators, describing the activities of the Japan Institute, Tamon Mayeda, the present director, insists that it does not concern itself "with controversial politics or political ideology." He says that it was organized solely to furnish businessmen, publicists, journalists, and scholars with "materials concerning Japan, and especially in reference to her cultural, economic, social and civic life, and historical development." And this may very well be true — in theory. In plain fact, however, the way it works out is something like this: by making American school teachers more appreciative of Japanese culture, the Japan Institute makes them friendlier toward Japan; and it hopes, thereby, to make them more receptive to Japanese propaganda on the war in China. Quite naturally, too, whatever facts American businessmen may get from the Japan Institute about business conditions in Japan and Japanese-dominated China are not the kind of facts that would make them wary about investing money there.

A long article in the Japanese newspaper *Asahi* last summer admitted quite frankly that Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai was founded because the war in China had made Japan "keenly realize the urgent necessity of propaganda." *Asahi* said that officials in Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai's New York office (the Japan Institute) have the status of first secretaries of embassy, and that plans had been made to hire assistants for them who not only could speak English perfectly, but who knew American slang and could "wisecrack."

Paid Japanese Propagandists

All Japanese propaganda is not as subtle, as indirect as that of the Japan Institute. On the Japanese payroll today are several American press agents who talk, not blandly of Japanese culture, but of the menace of "Communism" in China. For this is the official Japanese lament: the United States doesn't understand Japan; the Japanese don't want to exploit China, they only want to stamp out "Communism" there; unselfish Japan is trying valiantly to save China from itself, and from the menace of the Soviet Union, which the Chinese are too innocent to comprehend; Japan is fighting Chiang Kai-shek because it loves the Chinese people.

Put thus, Japan's propaganda may sound ridiculous; but the Japanese propagandists, themselves, have so far been unable to state it

more convincingly. The last Gallup poll showed that exactly 1 per cent of the American people were in sympathy with Japan, while 59 per cent were in sympathy with China. (The other 40 per cent had no opinion.) That doesn't stop the Japanese, however. On the contrary, it has made them redouble their efforts. Here are some of the men they are now employing:

FREDERICK J. MOORE, Washington, D. C., who gets \$500 monthly for advising the Japanese Embassy on public relations, and 10,000 yen annually from the South Manchuria Railway;

WENDELL P. COLTON, of New York, agent for the Japanese Tourist Bureau, most prolific of the Japanese propagandists;

FREDERICK V. WILLIAMS, of San Francisco, who lectures to promote good will for Japan (compensation, \$300 monthly);

HERBERT S. HOUSTON, public relations counsel for the South Manchuria Railway (\$6,000 annually);

ROBERT A. WRIGHT, of Elmhurst, N. J., press agent for the Japanese Consulate-General in New York, at \$200 per month;

YANEO AKETA, of New York City, another press agent for the South Manchuria Railway, who receives \$5,400 per year;

HELMUT L. RIPPERGER, propagandist for Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai;

VINCENT PAUL WALSH, of New York, who is employed by the Japanese Consulate-General;

DWIGHT E. HAVEN, of Detroit, who is employed by the Japanese *Times* and the Japanese Trade Service Bureau;

SHOJO OSATO, press agent for the Japanese Government Railways.

These are only some of the most important of the paid Japanese propagandists in the United States, as listed by the State Department. There are others — small fry — like Dr. Alexander Cairns, of Bloomfield, N. J., who lectures on Japan, at \$25 per lecture; and Franklin H. Chino, who combines his propaganda activities with law work for the Japanese Consulate in Chicago for only \$20 per month. And there are still others, who, though not exactly on the Japanese payroll, are nevertheless getting money from Japan.

Take Ralph Townsend, for example. Mr. Townsend publishes his writings himself; and he insists that he isn't getting any money from Japan for them. Patriotism, not money is his inspiration, he says, pointing out that his name

can not be found on the official State Department list of foreign propagandists.

This is true. Actually, the Japanese aren't paying Mr. Townsend to write the pamphlets, and they aren't giving him money to publish them. However, the Japanese Chamber of Commerce in San Francisco buys the pamphlets and sends out thousands of them.

Another Japanese Propagandist

Arthur Donald Bate also used to insist that he wasn't connected with the Japanese propaganda machine; he was just lecturing on his own, under the auspices of Program Associates, of Utica, N. Y., before service clubs, women's clubs, normal schools, and similar groups. He said that he wasn't talking in behalf of Japan but was "only preaching withdrawal of American interests from China and 100 per cent Americanism." It turned out that he, too, was in the employ of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce.

The International Silk Guild is still not registered with the State Department, although it receives much of its money from Japan. Its largest contributor is the Central Raw Silk Association of Japan, which gave it \$50,000 in 1933, and \$250,000 more in 1934. On April 13, 1936, *Women's Wear Daily* of New York, reported from Yokohama that "Paulino Gerli [president of the International Silk Guild] sailed for home Friday and as a result of his efforts here a silk promotion campaign fund of 2,500,000 yen will probably be obtainable in Japan."

Several months ago, the New York *Journal of Commerce* issued an illustrated 100-page supplement on prospects for American trade with Manchukuo. The *Journal of Commerce* said that prospects for American trade were good, and getting better. Whether or not the State Department recognizes Manchukuo, said the *Journal of Commerce*, American business should.

One might not be justified in calling this supplement paid Japanese propaganda; still, the fact remains that 25 of its 100 pages were devoted to advertising, bought and paid for by Japanese businessmen. And it seems only reasonable to assume that before they bought the advertising the Japanese were fairly certain that whatever the *Journal of Commerce* said about Manchukuo would be favorable to Japan — else, why throw good money away? It should also be noted that Alexander R. Sharton, pub-

lisher of the *Journal of Commerce*, was in Japan and Manchukuo recently, where he was entertained by Japanese officials; and it was in Japan that he announced his decision to publish the supplement.

Incidentally, the Japanese have been entertaining Americans in Japan and Japanese-dominated China quite liberally, of late, paying their railroad fare and hotel bills, and wining and dining them. For example, several American school teachers were conducted through Japan and Manchukuo last summer as guests of the Culture Bureau of the Japanese Foreign Office. The Minister of Railways gave an elaborate reception for them, and presented each with an embroidered Japanese kimono. After being photographed in these kimonos, the school teachers entertained the Minister of Railways with Japanese folk dances, which they had learned during their stay in the Land of the Rising Sun.

On their return to America, they sat down and wrote stories for their home-town papers on their experiences in Japan — on the hospitality of the Japanese people, the efficiency of the Japanese Government.

Another free junket was held last October, this one by the Japanese Army, for newspapermen and lecturers. The party was entertained first at the Broadway Mansions, in Shanghai, then it went out to visit the Japanese battle lines to see what the Japanese medical corps was doing for the Chinese. Visits to schools and hospitals followed, interspersed with parties and banquets.

Among the guests of the Japanese was Paul Dorsey, photographer on leave from *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune* magazines. Some of the pictures that Mr. Dorsey took, showing the human side of the Japanese Army, have already been run in *Life*.

What the Chinese Do

The Chinese spend little to counteract the Japanese propaganda, in part because they have little to spend, in part because they don't need to spend much. On the whole, American people already sympathize with the Chinese people: China is the underdog in this war; and the American people usually favor the underdog. Moreover, the war is being fought on Chinese soil: Chinese towns have been destroyed, Chinese non-combatants have died, and the story of their suffering has touched American heart-

strings. Coupled with our traditional friendship and sympathy for China, with the interest that American church groups have always taken in China, and with Mme. Chiang Kai-shek's popularity in religious organizations and secular women's colleges, this has been enough to make the American people strongly pro-Chinese without being subjected to planned Chinese propaganda.

There has been *some* planned Chinese propaganda, of course. For several months, Carl Byoir and Associates, Inc. was retained by the Chinese Government to raise money to relieve the suffering of non-combatants. Earl H. Leaf, until recently with the United Press in China, is still on the Chinese payroll, and so, too, is Bruno Schwartz, who runs Trans-Pacific News Service. (The Japanese propagandists accuse him of sending out fake atrocity pictures, but he denies it.) For the most part, however, Chinese propaganda has been unpaid, conducted by Americans who feel strongly about the war. Church groups and vacationing missionaries have been particularly active; radical organizations, and especially those supported by the Communist Party, have also been active. Many of the pro-China groups have formed an organization called the China Aid Information Exchange to make their work more effective, and they publish a news bulletin, whose circulation is limited, but which nevertheless gets around.

A similar propaganda bulletin, published by Chinese sympathizers, is the China Information Service, of Washington, D. C.

News from China

One long-run difficulty which the Chinese propagandists are up against is the fact that practically every bit of news about the war must go through Japanese hands. The Japanese now control all the large coastal towns from which news is cabled or wirelessly to America: their censors blue-pencil copy freely. In addition, the Japanese control most of the sources of news. All the big Far Eastern news bureaus are located in towns now dominated by the Japanese, and most of the dispatches are, therefore, based upon Japanese Army communiqués. Japanese handouts, and stories which Domei, the official Japanese news agency, sends out, free of charge.

There is still another factor that serves, occasionally, to color the news: both the Associated

Press and the United Press have lucrative contracts with Domei. On several occasions they have been forced to soften their dispatches to keep Domei from cancelling the contracts.

Still, the news does get out. American men-of-war in Far Eastern waters often will send dispatches, which Japanese censors have killed, over their short-wave radios. So, too, will American diplomats. Mail copy is uncensored, and background stories about the war can always be sent by mail. The Phillipine Islands aren't too far away, so that stories can be airmailed to Manila and wirelessly to San Francisco while they are still news.

One story that was stopped by the censor recently but still got to America came from the typewriter of Reginald Sweetland, of the Chicago *Daily News*. It was an obituary, the story of the suicide of Major General Tanehide Furujo, who had been chief Japanese censor. His successor refused to send it. Mr. Sweetland got it through anyway — by mail. "It is not often," he said, "that a correspondent has the opportunity of writing the obituary of a censor."

This was not Mr. Sweetland's first brush with the Japanese censor. Shortly before, the correspondent had complained to his paper that in Manchukuo even his incoming mail was read. In Manchukuo, he wrote, only the Japanese are permitted to give out information; "but try and get any information from them." Said Mr. Sweetland: "Propaganda, yes; information, distinctly no."

Correspondence

The Institute has received the following letter:

I again must protest that I consider it an insult to whatever intelligence I may have (for I cannot identify the quantity or quality or actuality of my intelligence by any test which the scientist would accept), to allow the further use of your emotion-word "intelligent" in your slogan. Each person who reads that, except of course the person who has what you MAY think of as intelligence, will consider *himself* to be intelligent, which I am sure is not your intention. Or, scratch my head, can you be resorting to a little propaganda yourself, to sell your paper?

Yours respectfully (except as above),

EDWARD HANNES

Propaganda Analysis Worksheet

Is the history of the growth of today's problem in the Far East a hodgepodge in the minds of your study group? Does your group's knowledge of America's past and present relations with China and Japan consist of scattered impressions they have gathered about this particular crisis, the war in China?

If such conditions exist in the classroom or in the study group the wisest course for the group leader to take may be for him to select incidents from history that will show how today's problem in the Far East developed. In such an approach to the study of propagandas flowing from the war in China, the wise group leader will try to keep the political, social, and economic forces at work in China and in Japan before the student.

At times in the study of Chinese and Japanese propagandas in America, the group may show need for further work in drawing together the scattered impressions he has acquired about the development of this particular crisis in China.

Suggestions for classroom and adult group study of the Far Eastern conflict and its propagandas follow. They should be adapted to the specific interests and needs of the group. In general, all of the discussion and work suggestions outlined are designed to equip young people and adults with background knowledge and pertinent information concerning economic, social, and political problems in China and in Japan, from which today's propagandas flow.

I. GROUP WORK PROJECT

America and the Far East

Any change in foreign policy, such as that suggested by the President when he speaks of boycotting aggressor nations, must have its basis partly in commercial interest, partly in political interest, partly in military interest, and partly in sentiment. Several questions arise: *One*, what is the extent of America's commercial interest in the Far East? *Two*, does Japanese aggression in China menace these interests? *Three*, would a Japanese victory in China menace the security of the United States or any of its possessions? *Four*, could America prevent such a victory through economic measures, such as a boycott of Japanese goods? *Five*, would such economic

measures involve the United States in a military conflict with Japan?

1. Follow careful study of the reading references listed below with thorough-going group discussion of the foregoing questions.

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American Council of The Institute of Pacific Relations, *Far Eastern Survey*, a fortnightly publication dealing with many phases of the Sino-Japanese conflict and with such questions as that of America's trade relations with the Far East.

2. In order to understand the war in the Far East we must understand the social and military position of the Japanese government and the history of its relations with China. Consider the main theses of the following suggested references, reading each critically.

Snow, Edgar, *Far Eastern Front*, Harrison Smith, New York. Tells about Japanese aggression. Frequently used for citation by Chinese sympathizers.

Abend, Hallet, *Tortured China*, Ives Washburn, New York. Describes the civil wars that have been raging in China for years. Frequently cited by Japanese sympathizers.

Hindmarsh, Albert E., *The Basis of Japanese Foreign Policy*, Harvard University Press, 1937. Reference suggested by Japanese propagandists.

Bisson, T. A., *Japan in China*, Macmillan, 1938. Authoritative, up-to-date discussion of the question.

II. GROUP DISCUSSION AND READING

The Cry of 'Communism'

The Japanese assert that in fighting the Chinese government they are really fighting communism. They point out that Chiang Kai-shek's government is now supported by the Communist Party. Chinese sympathizers retort that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has long been an enemy of communism, that he fought communism for years. They say that he now cooperates with the communists only because he needs their assistance to drive out the Japanese. They point out that he used the communists once before, accepting money and munitions

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from them in the early 20's while he was fighting to gain supremacy in China, and they say that as soon as he gained supremacy he turned on his communist supporters and endeavored to wipe them out.

Snow, Edgar, *Red Star Over China*, Random House, New York. For the most authoritative description of the Chinese communists and their relations with Chiang Kai-shek.

Far Eastern Affairs Pamphlets, "Red Cloud Over China," August, 1938, 447 Sutter St., San Francisco, California. For the Japanese side of the question.

III. A GROUP STUDY PROJECT

Forces Which Mold Public Opinion

Most Americans know the tabulations of public opinion made in nation-wide polls such as those of the Institute of Public Opinion, but little attention is given to *why* people believe and vote as they do on today's social, political, and economic issues. We know, for example, that in the present Far Eastern crisis most Americans are sympathetic with China. The question is, *why*?

Possibly the examination of certain specific factors which have linked the American people more closely in thought and feeling with the Chinese than with the Japanese will be revealing of some of the forces at work in the shaping of public opinion in the United States. In group discussion let us consider some of the possible factors, stated in the form of assumptions:

1. "*Americans are sympathetic to the underdog.*" Effective war propaganda appeals in the past: during the Civil War it was "Uncle Tom"; during the Mexican war it was the alleged Mexican oppression of the Texans;

during the Spanish-American war, Cuba "was under the heel of the Spanish oppressor"; during the World War it was "bleeding Belgium."

2. "*The activities of foreign missions conducted by many American churches in China and the interest of many American denominational colleges in the education of Chinese account for some of the United States' strong ties to China.*" Study the activities of foreign missions in China. Get statistics of their schools, churches, hospitals. Study the life of Madame Chiang Kai-shek. She was graduated from Wellesley College. She herself is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. She converted Chiang Kai-shek to Methodism. Naturally, they have been working closely with American missionaries in China. Partly for these reasons many of our American church groups have strong emotional ties with China's armies.
3. "*America's 'Open Door' foreign policy in the Far East has created strong ties of friendship with China.*" The United States has opposed territorial aggression in China since 1899. As part of this policy of friendship towards China, the United States following the Boxer Rebellion set aside the indemnity that it received to provide for the education of Chinese students in the United States.

Additional Reading Reference: Lasker, Bruno, and others, *Propaganda from China and Japan; A Case Study in Propaganda Analysis*, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1938. Analysis of the purposeful propaganda which reached this country between July and December, 1937.

IV. NEWSPAPER STUDY PROJECT

In Your Own Community

Keep records of stories in your newspapers that come from China regarding the war: first, those that come directly from towns and cities dominated by the Chinese (see newspaper maps); second, those that come from cities dominated by the Japanese.

1. See how many stories, coming from Japanese sources, would be of the kind that would make the Japanese "lose face" with Americans.

On the other hand, see how many stories report Japanese victories and, even more important, dissension within the Chinese ranks.

2. Do the same with newspaper stories which come to you from Chinese sources.

Propaganda Analysis

A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

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Communist Propaganda, U.S.A. 1939 Model

THE Communist Party, U. S. A. has about 75,000 dues-paying members, and just enough money to keep the customary one jump ahead of the sheriff. Party officials don't get as much as W. P. A. workers, and many would do better even on home relief. Some carry their offices around with them in their coat pockets; others work in dingy, little rooms in the grimest end of town, where rent is cheap and landlords will listen to reason. Only the other day, the *New Masses*, the Party's leading weekly, told its readers that it would have to fold unless they could help out by getting new subscribers.¹ The *Daily Worker*, the Party's leading newspaper, has never seen the minute when it was not in the red, financially as well as politically. Of course, there has been lots of talk about "Moscow gold," and it may well be that at times in the past the Communist International has sent money to America to keep the Communist Party here going. (The Communist International has undoubtedly sent money to other countries.) It would, however, be difficult indeed to find any "Moscow gold" around right now. On the contrary, the evidence seems to bear out the Communist Party's claim that right now Moscow is getting money from the United States — for Communist propaganda in Germany, Italy, Japan, and other totalitarian nations.

People may wonder how any party with so few members as the Communist Party, and with so little money, could possibly create so much

fuss. Day after day, the newspapers tell us how the Communist Party is working in this union or that: witnesses before the Dies committee on un-American activities last year pinned the label of Communism on the American Youth Congress, the American League for Peace and Freedom, the American Student Union, the American Civil Liberties Union;² even the New Deal is Communist, we are told.

Just how much truth is back of all these charges would be hard to say. Martin Dies himself admits that many of those who testified before his committee were "crackpots."³ On the other hand, despite the Communist Party's vitriolic denials, it can hardly be doubted that Communist propaganda and Communist activity in labor and so-called liberal organizations are widespread. One has only to read the publications of the Communist Party itself. Some years ago, before the winter of 1935 when they started to revamp their program, tactics, and propaganda, the Communists were boastful rather than reticent about their influence, exaggerating rather than denying it. The Communist Party today will insist that it doesn't amount to much,⁴ but in 1935 it was claiming

² *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States*, House of Representatives, Seventy-fifth Congress. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1938.

³ *New York Times*, February 12, 1939.

⁴ See Earl Browder's address, "Is America Menaced by Foreign Propaganda," in *Town Meeting*, the bulletin of America's Town Meeting of the Air. Columbia University Press, New York, January 23, 1939.

¹ *New Masses*, November 8, 1938.

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full credit for most of the strikes that were then breaking out all over the country, as well as for the formation of the Unemployment Councils, which have since been amalgamated with the Workers Alliance.⁵

Pamphlets, books, newspapers, magazines, and leaflets on Communism pour from the presses by the hundreds, reaching perhaps millions. Last year, with the newspaper business so bad that 29 papers were forced to shut down⁶ the Communist Party nevertheless was able to launch two new dailies. There are Communist magazines for children, like the *Young Pioneer*, Communist books for children like *Fairy Tales for Workers' Children*, translated from the German of Hermina zur Muhlen; there are Communist magazines for women, Communist magazines on health, Communist dailies, weeklies, and monthlies in two dozen foreign languages, including Chinese. In hundreds of factories, offices, and shops, Communists surreptitiously issue little printed, mimeographed, or multigraphed papers, which deal primarily with unionization, wages and hours, and what the boss did last week that was so reprehensible — papers like the *Educational Vanguard*, published by Communists at Columbia University; *New Times*, published by Communists on the New York Times; *High Time*, published by Communists on *Time*, *Fortune*, and *Life*.

How can the Communists do all this?

The Organizational Set-up

One look into the peculiar organizational set-up of the Communist Party, U. S. A. makes the answer self-evident. The Communist Party calls this set-up "democratic centralism." There may be those who doubt the democracy in the Party, but nobody can question the centralism. At the bottom are the units — shop units and street units — little groups of six or seven Communists who live in the same neighborhood or work in the same office. Supervising them are the section committees, and supervising the section committees are twenty-nine district committees. Then comes the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and finally the Communist International, the super-committee which dictates the general policies and tactics

⁵ *Social Security in a Soviet America*, by I. Amter, Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1935. See p. 38 especially.

⁶ *Newsweek*, February 6, 1939.

of the Communist Party, U. S. A. and the Communist parties in 72 other countries.⁷

Theoretically, at least, Communist Party members are free to discuss any issue until some decision has been reached. Once the decision has been reached, discussion is over. However they may feel about it, the members of the Party committee are supposed to carry it out. And not only the members of the committee itself, but every dues-paying Communist under them. Decisions of the New York district committee, for example, are binding on the members of every section and every unit within the State. Decisions of the Central Committee are binding on every dues-paying member of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

And when the Communists say binding, they mean *binding*. In the Democratic Party, Carter Glass can sneer at the President, assail him, denounce him, castigate him; yet nobody would ever think of expelling Carter Glass from the Democratic Party. Democrats are *expected* to disagree. And so are Republicans. Herbert Hoover and Kenneth Simpson don't always see eye to eye; nevertheless, both are considered loyal Republicans, and so long as they want to stay in the Republican Party, they can.

No Communist would ever think of denouncing Earl Browder. Any Communists who did would immediately be expelled.

The result? Simply that all the 75,000 dues-paying members of the Communist Party, U. S. A. think, act, talk, and vote as one. They work together, pull together. "One great proletarian fist," Mr. Browder has called them.⁸ For 75,000 people, who know exactly what they want and pull together, can do far more than millions, who either don't know what they want, or else are too busy fighting each other to get it.

Along with discipline goes devotion. Communist party members (at least those who stay in the Party for any length of time) are intensely devoted to the Party, some are fanatical about it; and they seem willing to work for it day and night. Just as Party officials will struggle along on weekly salaries of \$6 or \$7 (Mr. Browder gets \$35), so will rank-and-file Party members freely give up time and money, foregoing movies, plays, and parties to sit in com-

⁷ See *What Is Communism?* by Earl Browder. Vanguard Press, New York, 1936.

⁸ *Ibid.*

mittee meetings; to issue shop papers; to carry on propaganda in the unions to which they may belong; to sell tickets for Party benefits; to stand on street corners with tin cans, seeking contributions for the Spanish Loyalists or the Chinese Government; to sell the *Daily Worker* and the *New Masses* in subway cars.⁹ Devotion, industry, and discipline, not "Moscow gold," explain the intense activity of the Communist Party.

Membership Turnover

Of course, this isn't true of all Communists. It would be surprising if thousands didn't sooner or later decide to forget how devoted they were to Communism, and take in the nearest movie; didn't sooner or later begin to soldier on the job, and finally quit. Thousands do. A study has shown that many Party members are completely inactive.¹⁰ Official membership figures show an enormous turnover. In New York State, for example, the Party recruited 20,716 new members between 1936 and 1938, and in those same two years 10,147 old members dropped out.¹¹

The Communist Party, U. S. A., like all Communist parties, thinks of itself as "the vanguard of the proletariat." It naturally wants to enroll more people than it now claims, because 75,000 members aren't nearly enough to carry on its work effectively. On the other hand, Communist leaders would never permit the Party to become too large for effective discipline. Even in the Soviet Union there are fewer than 2,000,000 Communist Party members. A party of leaders is what the Communist Party wants to become — leaders of the working class. It will need tens of millions of sympathizers for that; but relatively few members.

The Communists believe that capitalism will some day crumble, and when that day comes (if ever it comes) the American people, bewildered, helpless, their faith in the old ways gone, will look around for some new faith. Jobless, hungry, disillusioned, they will rebel against capitalism, but they won't know exactly how, nor will they know what to replace capitalism

with. That's where the Communist Party — the self-styled vanguard of the proletariat — will step in. Having already gained the confidence of the American people through "day-to-day struggle against the ruling class," it will now take over the leadership of this incoherent rebellion. The result? A Soviet America.

Says Mr. Browder:¹²

... Such a situation develops when the ruling class can no longer dominate society in the old way; when the economic system breaks down and can no longer feed the masses; when the middle classes are wavering and a considerable part have turned against the rulers; when the capitalists themselves have lost confidence in their ability to solve their own problems; and when capitalist control of the armed forces of the state has been undermined and shaken.

Under such circumstances the revolutionary will-to-power of the workers, their heroism, their self-sacrifice, their enthusiasm to struggle for a new order strike telling blows against a ruling class which is already shaken and conscious of its doom. In this revolutionary situation, the Communist Party, which has won the active support of the majority of the working class and of decisive sections of the other exploited classes, wins some of the armed forces to its side, and leads the effective majority of the people to the seizure of state power. . . .

How It Will Happen

This revolutionary situation that Mr. Browder talks about won't come just by wishing for it, the Communists will tell you, however. It will come, says I. Amter,¹³ only by creating militant trade unions; by making the A. F. of L. anti-capitalist; by making the American League for Peace and Democracy as well as the Workers Alliance more powerful; by fighting against Jim Crow laws; by helping to bring about "united action of all oppressed sections of the population, employed and unemployed, Negro and white, native and foreign-born, manual, white-collar and professional workers; by moving forward to revolutionary struggle together with the poor farmers."

So the Communists go into the unions, A. F. of L. as well as C. I. O., and try as best they can to dominate them. And they go into other mass organizations, like the American Labor Party in New York State, and do the same. And, where there are no mass organizations, they set them

⁹ In this connection, see "A Professor Quits the Communist Party," *Harpers*, July, 1937.

¹⁰ *World Revolutionary Propaganda*; Harold D. Lasswell and Dorothy Blumenstock; Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1939.

¹¹ "Rooting the Party Among the Masses in New York," by Max Steinberg. *The Communist*, September, 1938.

¹² Op. cit., pps. 163-4.

¹³ Op. cit., p. 37.

up. Their self-appointed task is never an easy one: they occasionally succeed, but usually they fail. When they do succeed, it's generally because of their willingness to work, and their discipline. In every union there are dozens of petty, burdensome jobs that nobody wants but which simply must be done. The Communists do them, and they use the jobs as stepping-stones to leadership. In new unions the Communists will sometimes push themselves right out in front because the other members have never worked in unions before and, therefore, wouldn't know how to run them even if they wanted to. Communist Party members, on the other hand, usually have some union experience, and if they haven't they can always call on the Party for help. Organized, vocal, sure of themselves and knowing exactly what they want, they can, if conditions are just right, get their candidates elected, their program accepted.

Almost never do the Communists make any dent in old, well-organized unions, where the rank-and-file is experienced and the leaders are entrenched. The Communists may have some power in the new, green United Automobile Workers; but they remain in the well-established United Mine Workers only because they are too insignificant to kick out.¹⁴

Some Mass Organizations

Among the most prominent of the organizations which the Communist Party helped to launch are the International Labor Defense, the American League Against War and Fascism (now called the American League for Peace and Democracy), the International Workers Order, the Friends of the Soviet Union, and the American Student Union. These organizations are not "Communist organizations" in the sense that any of them carries on propaganda for Communism. On the contrary, they devote themselves almost exclusively to specific, well-defined issues like anti-labor legislation, foreign policy, W. P. A. unemployment insurance, and old-age pensions. Now there are millions of people in the United States who shudder at the very thought of Communism, yet believe in

¹⁴ The constitution of the United Mine Workers bars Communists from membership. A few, by concealing their Communist sympathies, have nevertheless been able to get in. However, John L. Lewis has said, there aren't enough of them to bother about.

work relief and oppose anti-labor legislation. Poll after poll has shown that, and so have the elections since 1932. In setting up its mass organizations, the Communist Party hoped to enlist those people; and it has to some extent succeeded. That does not make these people Communists, however: some *are* Communists, of course, but the overwhelming majority are just Democrats and Republicans who happen to agree with the Communists on certain specific political, social, and economic issues.

If Communist Party members influence these mass organizations, it again is because they are so well-organized, so disciplined, so energetic, and so vocal. They get themselves elected to office in the organizations in much the same way that political machines gain power in city or State governments — through organization and through propaganda. Once they get into office, they keep up the propaganda, doing their best to make the rank and file increasingly militant, to prepare them for the coming "revolutionary situation." They must go slowly, however, for if their propaganda were to become too revolutionary it might antagonize the rank and file.

Some Communists, incidentally, do not admit to being Communists, denying it loudly when the cry of Communism is raised. They do this, sometimes, because they're afraid of losing their jobs;¹⁵ sometimes because they believe they can work more effectively with liberals if they are not known as Communists.

One reason Communists pay so much attention to mass organizations, and particularly to labor unions, is that such organizations have just the kinds of people they especially want to reach with their propaganda — workers, the lower middle class, professional men and women of liberal views, people who are dissatisfied with things as they are, but who have no definite ideas about what should be done. Another reason is the belief that getting people to participate in strikes, in boycotts against anti-union employers or against fascist nations, and in mass demonstrations of all kinds is the best way to make them receptive to anti-capitalist and pro-Communist propaganda. Still another reason is the conviction that mass ac-

¹⁵ There is good reason for this. For example, Henry R. Luce recently announced that any staff member of *Time*, *Fortune*, or *Life* who contributed to *High Time* would be fired — if caught.

tion is the most effective of all the channels of communication through which Communist propaganda can flow, not only because thousands of passers-by in the street where the demonstrations are being held will stop to listen to the speakers and to read the placards, but also because, if the demonstrations are big enough, most newspapers will send reporters to cover them. One thing which seems to irk Communists no end is for newspapers to describe the demonstrations without telling precisely what slogans were shouted by the demonstrators, and without quoting their picket signs.

What are these slogans? What do these picket signs proclaim? In other words, just what is Communist propaganda like?

Policy, Tactics, and Program

That depends. It depends upon the policy, tactics, and program of the Communist Party at the particular moment. For the policy and tactics of the Communist Party change with every shift in the political weather, not only in the United States but in Europe and in the Soviet Union as well. The long-term goal always remains the same: the destruction of capitalism; establishment of the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat; socialism, which the Communists define as public ownership, with every worker being paid in proportion to what he produces; and finally communism, the society in which the rule will prevail: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs." How best to achieve that goal, however, depends upon any number of things: how the Soviet Union is getting along; what the American people think about labor unions; whether the New Deal is popular or not; what chance the Loyalists have of winning in Spain—in short, the world situation. As the world situation changes, the Communists revamp their policy and tactics. Moreover, the Communists do learn from experience. And their most trying experience since the world depression began has been the rise of fascism, which jolted them from smug contemplation of the decline of German capitalism to what must have been the painful realization that other political groups could play at their game, too. Adolf Hitler's rise to power in Germany proved that Communist propaganda about the workers of the world didn't quite have the potency of Nazi propaganda about the Fatherland; that democ-

racy, at which the Communists had always sneered, really wasn't so bad.

Most important of all, the Communists learned that even though Marx, Lenin, and Stalin might have demonstrated that Germany's middle class was doomed, that it would be forced into the working class and there absorbed, they hadn't succeeded in convincing the middle class of that. The middle class didn't like the idea of being forced into the working class, and didn't feel any kinship with the working class in spite of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin.

The result is that Communists lately have been soft-peddling talk of Communism, and they are resentful when others talk about it. They prefer to discuss immediate, specific issues: foreign policy, the Social Security act, the Wagner act, Government reorganization, increased W. P. A. appropriations, N. Y. A., national defense. They realize that from the propaganda standpoint, "Communist" is probably the worst label that can be slapped on any measure (and if not the worst, at least second only to "Nazi"). Simultaneously, they recognize the importance of working closely with the middle class, for it was their failure to win over the middle class in Germany that ruined them. The American middle class—or rather that section of the middle class in which the Communists are interested—still is pro-New Deal. So the Communists take pains not to outrage its New Deal sympathies. In 1935 they could write, as Mr. Amter did, that "... the New Deal has been a failure as far as the workers are concerned ... under the New Deal the Negroes suffer more than ever before ... the New Deal is a *huge fraud* ..." Today, however, they praise the New Deal endlessly, though never forgetting to remark that "it doesn't go far enough."

"Defend the Soviet Union"

The Communists are particularly fond of the New Deal today because they believe that Roosevelt's foreign policy is the same as theirs. Defense of the Soviet Union has always been the duty of every Communist everywhere. "The Seventh Congress of the Communist International ... pointed out that it was the revolutionary duty of every class-conscious worker to defend the Soviet Union," Mr. Browder has said. This being so, the Communist Party, U.

S. A. has always shaped its propaganda to conform to the interests of the Soviet Union. When the Communists were certain that America would some day join with England, France, Germany, and Japan to attack the Soviet Union, they were strongly opposed to national defense and carried on propaganda for the Oxford Pledge—the oath not to fight in any war the Government might conduct. Now that Roosevelt has started talking about boycotting the fascist nations, the Communist Party no longer views the United States as Russia's potential enemy but as its potential ally. It therefore has become more friendly toward bigger armaments; it has renounced the Oxford Pledge, and it attacks the proposed Ludlow amendment, which takes from Congress the power to declare wars of aggression, putting that power in the hands of the people.

The democracy which the Communists once despised they now laud. No longer do they say, as Mr. Amter did in 1935:

They tell us that in the United States we have a "democratic" government. People like Hearst, Hamilton Fish, Matthew Woll, and Roosevelt like to talk about "American democracy." They declare they are against any kind of dictatorship and they try to conceal the fact that we have a capitalist dictatorship in the United States. They talk about all men being "equal," the use of the ballot, etc.

. . . Then let us ask who writes the platforms, who nominates the candidates for elections? Certainly not the American workers and poor farmers. The candidates are nominated by the big bankers and manufacturers. Congress and the government carry out their will. To be sure the candidates make many promises in the election campaign, just as Roosevelt did, as the governors and the legislators in the states do, as mayors and aldermen do; but these promises are quickly forgotten, because the candidates are not responsible to the "people" who elect them but to the bankers.¹⁶

Instead of talk like this we find the Communists using the word "democracy" as the most glittering of all the Glittering Generalities in their propaganda vocabulary. Hardly the day goes by when the *Daily Worker* does not advocate this or that "in the name of democracy." The G. O. P. is charged with "attacking American democracy." American Catholics should back the Loyalists in Spain, the *Daily Worker*

says, for that is where their interests lie "as citizens desiring . . . democracy."

"Our democracy," the *Daily Worker* calls it. The G. O. P. attacks Thomas Amlie. Why? Simply because he believes in democracy, the *Daily Worker* says.¹⁷

The Glittering Generality is used with greatest abandon when the Soviet Union is mentioned. The Soviet Union, Communist propagandists would have you believe, is the greatest of all democracies.

The Communists appear to speak of democracy in all sincerity. And they can be sincere because they have apparently developed an entirely new concept of democracy — one which is new to America, that is. The dictatorship of the proletariat is stern and ruthless, Edward Magnus admits;¹⁸ but he nevertheless calls it "real democracy." And he attempts to explain this contradiction by saying that "for the first time in history, the government represents power exercised by the majority over the minority." This may or may not be true. What is significant, however, is the difference between the concept of democracy held by Mr. Magnus and that expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. For, basic to American democracy is the belief that members of the minority have rights, too — inalienable rights — and that democracy will endure only so long as those rights are protected. To protect them, we have set up innumerable safeguards, ranging from the Constitution's first ten amendments to such legal doctrines as habeas corpus and trial by jury in open court.

"In Liberty, But—"

"I believe in liberty, but —," says Granville Hicks.¹⁹ The Constitution says that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Just as democracy is the Communist Party's favorite Glittering Generality, so "fascist" is

¹⁷ These quotes were picked at random from 7 issues of the *Daily Worker*, February 10 to 16, inclusive.

¹⁸ *Professionals in a Soviet America*, by Edward Magnus. Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1935.

¹⁹ *I Like America*, by Granville Hicks. Modern Age Books, Inc., New York, 1938.

¹⁶ Op. cit.

their pet bad name. They lump all people, all nations into two groups: the democrats and the fascists. Everybody they like goes into the first group; into the second are dumped their opponents. Synonymous with fascist are Nazi and Tory, and the words are used interchangeably. The G. O. P. is sometimes fascist, sometimes Nazi, and sometimes Tory. Attack W. P. A.? Fascist! Attack the Social Security Act? Fascist! Denounce the Wagner act? Fascist! Attacking Communism is either fascist or "playing into the hands of the fascists." Lovestoneites and Trotskyists (communist opposition groups) are generally "Nazi agents."

The Communists use the Name-calling device freely. Here is how Adam Lapin speaks of those who testified before the Dies committee: "... troupe of stool pigeons, Silvershirts, vigilantes . . . motley crew of thieves, labor spies, vigilantes, known fascists, and disreputable characters . . . irresponsible witnesses, hired stool pigeons . . . Trotskyite spy, espionage agent . . . metal trades spy . . . scholarly-looking strike-breaker . . . obscure labor spies . . . Dies fire brigade."²⁰

And Mr. Browder, discussing the followers of Leon Trotsky, calls them "wreckers and fascist agents . . . gentlemen-bandits . . . agents provocateurs."²¹

Three or four years ago the Communists rarely used the Testimonial device, and when they did they quoted Marx, Lenin, and Stalin — names which didn't mean very much to most Americans. Nowadays, having learned the propaganda value of patriotism, they speak of Communism as "Twentieth Century Americanism," and they quote Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and Lincoln whenever they get the chance. No Fourth of July orator has ever quoted the Founding Fathers quite so freely as the Communists do today.

The Plain Folks Device

Similarly, the Communists have always used the Plain Folks device, but so ineptly that it was considerably worse than futile. The Communists spoke of themselves as "workers," and they addressed the American people as "workers," calling on American workers to unite with

"the workers of the world." This got the Communists nowhere. To begin with, the overwhelming majority of Americans rarely think of themselves as workers, but as members of the middle class. And besides, to many Americans, Europeans were "damned foreigners"—"hunkies," "wops," "spiks"—not "fellow workers."

The Communists don't mention the workers of the world very often nowadays. "We Americans," they say. "Fellow Americans." The most widely advertised Communist book last year was called "I Like America." Mr. Lapin addresses the readers of his pamphlet on the Dies committee:

You don't talk much about patriotism, and you are suspicious of those who do. But you are patriots just the same. Whether it's the Iowa prairies, the sidewalks of New York, the land of cotton, the rock-ribbed coast, or the wide-open spaces where men are men — you like the place you live in. You like America, and you believe American ways are best.²²

"The workers have no country," wrote Lenin in 1917 in *Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*. "'National defense' in an imperialist war is a betrayal of socialism." In 1938, Mr. Lapin writes: "Ours is true Americanism — just like yours. Along with you and with millions of other Americans we cherish those immortal words of the Declaration of Independence . . . Along with you and millions of other Americans, we are ready to give our lives to preserve American liberty. . ." And Mr. Browder writes: "We are the Americans!"

The Communists use the Transfer device much as they use the Testimonial device — by calling on the Founding Fathers to bear witness that "We are the Americans!" They point out that America was born in revolution. Don't be afraid of revolution, they say: revolution gave you liberty from England in 1776; so will it some day give you liberty from the capitalists. Thus do they seek to bedeck the Communist revolution with the glamour of '76.

At Card-stacking the Communists are equally adept. They carefully select their facts to bolster their propaganda, ignoring any facts that might serve to weaken their case, even the most pertinent facts. Thus, Mr. Lapin will say that Congressmen Arthur Healy and John Dempsey, the liberal members of the Dies committee, "repudiated and condemned the com-

²⁰ *The Un-American Dies Committee*, by Adam Lapin. Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1938.

²¹ "Three Years of the Seventh World Congress Program," by Earl Browder, *The Communist*, August, 1938.

²² Op. cit.

mittee," even though Mr. Healy and Mr. Dempsey both signed the committee's final report. The Communists will quote what Jefferson said in praise of revolution, but they will ignore what he said about States' rights—just as the so-called Jeffersonian Democrats will quote Jefferson on States' rights and ignore his remarks on revolution. It would, of course, be difficult to prove that what Jefferson thought about either question is particularly relevant to America's present-day social, political, and economic problems; but propagandists never worry about what is relevant. Lincoln is another great American whom the Communists like to quote, but again they quote him only when it serves their purpose. Ironically enough, the Silvershirts have also begun to use Lincoln's writings and speeches as their favorite Testimonial device — and they quote Lincoln to attack the Communists and boost fascism. It's an easy trick: anyone can use it. Incidentally, the Communists have re-written Soviet history, to emphasize Stalin's part in the revolution, and play down Trotsky's role.

Communists and "Communists"

"Unconfirmed rumors" are frequently used by Communist propagandists to injure their opponents. Is the Hawaii Clipper lost at sea? The *Sunday Worker* reports that unconfirmed rumors say it was shot down by the Japanese. Do twenty-five mechanics of German birth or descent leave the United States for Germany, where they have been promised jobs? The *Daily Worker* thereupon reports: "Nazis Conscript Workers Here of German Birth." And, to substantiate this headline: "Unconfirmed reports said they had been conscripted for work in German factories."²⁸

One confusing thing about Communist propaganda is that members of the Communist Party, U. S. A. are not the only people who call themselves "communists." They are the most important of the groups whose policies stem from the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, but not the only groups. Others are the Trotskyists and the Lovestoneites. The former look upon Leon Trotsky as their leader, and they are linked with Trotsky's Fourth International. (The Communist International is the Third International.) The Lovestoneites are led by Jay Lovestone, once the leader of the Commu-

nist Party, U. S. A., until he defied the dictates of the Communist International and was expelled. All three communist groups hate each other bitterly. They call each other names, and sabotage each other's work at every opportunity. If the members of the Communist Party, U. S. A. speak of the Lovestoneites and Trotskyists as "wreckers and fascist agents . . . gentlemen-bandits . . . agents provocateurs," the Lovestoneites and Trotskyists snap back with the epithet "red fascists." They deride Communist Party members as "Stalinists."

The burden of their complaint against the Communist Party, U. S. A. is that it takes orders from the Communist International, which, under Stalin's domination, has been "sabotaging the world revolution." Though conservative opponents charge the Communist Party with plotting to overthrow the American form of government, the Lovestoneites and Trotskyists make just the opposite criticism. They maintain that, in order not to embarrass the Soviet Union, the Communist Party actually works to *prevent* revolution. The Communist policy of deliberately avoiding discussion of Communism springs not from any belief that such talk would be premature and futile but rather from the desire to avoid creating ill-feeling between our State Department and the Soviet Union, they say.

In Spain, the pro-Trotsky P. O. U. M. has denounced the Communist Party for supporting the Loyalist government, which it considers too conservative. It has called for the destruction of capitalism in Loyalist Spain, and it has answered Communist attacks upon it with the charge that, by co-operating in the Loyalist government, the Communist Party is upholding capitalism.

How much justification the Lovestoneites and Trotskyists may have for their belief that loyalty to Moscow has made the Communist Party, U. S. A. conservative is open to question. However, their charges do serve to highlight the fact that, for the present, at least, revolution is just as remote from the mind of any Communist as Mars. No doubt the Communist Party, U. S. A. still dreams of revolution, as something far-off but tantalizing. No doubt it still hopes for revolution — some day. As far as *today* is concerned, however, it worries far more about what Congress will do about W. P. A. than it does about the barricades.

²⁸ February 17, 1939.

Propaganda Analysis Worksheet

Two great social, political, and economic systems today are challenging what most Americans would probably consider "the American way of life." They are Communism and fascism. One calls itself "Twentieth Century Americanism"; the other is equally insistent that it, alone, is "true Americanism." Only last month, 17,000 Nazi sympathizers gathered in New York's Madison Square Garden to celebrate Washington's birthday. Their way of celebrating Washington's birthday was to listen to pro-Nazi speeches and to shout pro-Nazi slogans.

In the January, 1939 issue of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, "The Attack on Democracy," we saw that Nazi propagandists in the United States maintain that Germany under Hitler is far more democratic than it has ever been. In this issue, "Communist Propaganda, U.S.A., 1939 Model," we see that Communist propagandists in the United States call the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is said to exist in the Soviet Union, "real democracy." If democracy is not to become the most dazzling of Glittering Generalities—one which blinds our vision completely—we shall want to re-think and to clarify just what democracy has meant to America in the past, and just what it means to most Americans today—economically and socially, as well as politically.

Two issues of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS have already been devoted to fascist propaganda: the January, 1939 issue discussed fascist propaganda in the United States; the May, 1938 issue discussed "The Propaganda Techniques of German Fascism." This bulletin on Communist propaganda is being issued to supplement the other two. All three should be studied together. For, just as important as propaganda itself are the factors which create propaganda—the social, political, economic, and psychological conditions from which propagandas spring, and on which propagandas feed. And these conditions are essentially the same for Communist propaganda as for Nazi and fascist propaganda.

I. GROUP WORK PROJECT

What is American Democracy?

Communist and fascist propagandists in the United States both make generous use of the word "democracy"; both claim that only they

can bring about "true democracy." Several questions arise: *First*, what is the concept, and what are the essential characteristics of the democratic state held by most Americans? *Second*, what is the concept of democracy held by Communists? *Third*, what is the fascist concept of the democratic state? *Fourth*, what differences exist between the Communist and fascist concepts? *Fifth*, what similarities exist between the Communist and fascist concepts, both in theory and in practice? And *sixth*, wherein do traditional American concepts of democracy coincide with, or differ from, the Communist or the fascist point of view?

1. Discuss the origins and development of the following institutions, principles, and traditions, which are generally considered basic to American democracy: freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of worship, separation of church and state, habeas corpus, and trial by jury in open court.
2. List the basic principles of (a) the Communist state, as they are revealed in the Soviet Union; (b) the fascist state, as they are revealed in Germany and Italy.
3. Under the heading, "American Democracy," relist the principles that you have previously decided are basic to American democracy; then, in parallel columns, marked "German (or Italian) Fascism," and "Soviet Communism," set forth the corresponding or contrasting tenets of those systems. Thus, side by side with the American principles regarding the press, you will have listed the fascist and Communist attitude toward freedom of press; side by side with the American principles regarding freedom to worship, you will have listed the Communist and fascist attitudes toward religion, etc., as they are stated in theory, and (even more important) as the group sees them in practice. (For an example of how this may be done see "Just What Are These 'Isms'?" Junior-Senior High School *Clearing House*, October, 1937.)
4. Prepare a summary to supplement your chart on the differences and similarities among the basic principles held by most

Americans, by Communist leaders, and by fascist leaders. Discuss the propagandas which the Communist and fascist leaders disseminate concerning their political, social, and economic systems.

References on American Democracy: U. S. Office of Education, *Let Freedom Ring!* Thirteen radio scripts, each devoted to one basic tenet of American democracy. Can be used for high school auditorium and classroom dramatizations.

Tocqueville, Alexis de, *Democracy in America*. D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1904.

Baker, R. S., and Dodd, W. E., *The New Democracy*. Harper and Bros., New York, 1926.

Ward, Harry F., *In Place of Profit*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1933.

Smith, T. V., *The Promise of American Politics*. The University of Chicago Press, 1936.

Beard, C. A., *The American Party Battle*. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1928.

Cottler, J., *Champions of Democracy*. Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1936.

On Communism in the Soviet Union: Webb, Beatrice and Sidney, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization?* Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1935. An exhaustive study of the Soviet Union, based largely upon official Soviet documents.

Ilin, M., *New Russia's Primer*. Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, 1931. A very simple discussion of Soviet Russia's first five-year plan, prepared originally for Soviet school children and translated by George S. Counts and Nucia P. Lodge.

Christianity and the Social Revolution, edited by John Lewis, Karl Polanyi, and Donald K. Kitchen. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1936. Throws light on the Webbs' assertion that Communists suffer from the "disease of orthodoxy."

Dillon, E. J., *Russia Today and Yesterday*. Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., Garden City, L. I., 1930.

Dillon, E. J., *The Eclipse of Russia*. Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., Garden City, L. I., 1918. A Catholic, who knew czarist Russia intimately, Mr. Dillon revisited the country after the revolution. His two books give one man's picture of the changes that have taken place.

Miller, Clyde R., "Just What Are These 'Isms'?" Junior-Senior High School *Clearing House*, October, 1937. Study groups using this article should take stock of the changes in Germany, Italy, the United States, and the Soviet Union since it was prepared, and, on the basis of their own research,

bring the material up-to-date. A limited number of reprints can be obtained from the Institute for Propaganda Analysis for 5c each.

Chamberlin, William Henry, *Collectivism, A False Utopia*. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1937. The noted correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* who covered the Soviet Union for many years, discusses the shortcomings of authoritarian government.

Gide, Andre, *Return from the U. S. S. R.* Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1937. A French Communist visits the Soviet Union and is disappointed by what he finds there.

On Fascism in Nazi Germany: Hoover, Calvin B., *Germany Enters the Third Reich*. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1933.

Schuman, Frederick L., *The Nazi Dictatorship*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1936.

Brady, R. A., *The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism*. The Viking Press, New York, 1937.

On Fascism in Italy: Salvemini, Gaetano, *The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy*. Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1927. The author, now in exile in the United States, is considered the foremost student of Italian Fascism.

Megaro, G., *Mussolini in the Making*. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston & New York, 1938.

II. GROUP WORK PROJECT

What Is American Communism?

1. What is the Communist program in the United States as stated by official Communist Party leaders? Suggested references are:

Browder, Earl, *What Is Communism?* Vanguard Press, New York, 1936.

Browder, Earl, *The Popular Front*. International Publishers, New York, 1938.

2. What is the position of leading right-wing critics and opponents of American Communism? Suggested references include:

Chicago *Tribune*, Los Angeles *Times*, Hearst newspapers, the *National Republic* magazine.

Additional references: the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the House committee to investigate un-American activities.

III. GROUP DISCUSSION

Fertile Soil for Propaganda

In studying the propagandas of Communist and of fascist groups in the United States, we

must ask ourselves: Do economic and social conditions exist in this country, as they did in czarist Russia and post-war Germany, which make the soil ripe for propagandas of discontent and disaffection?

1. What are the economic and social conditions in America today which, in your opinion, may constitute fertile ground for propagandas of discontent and disaffection? Consider in group discussion other factors in our society which make for special anxieties, insecurities, and fears (such as fears of losing a job, home, status in society).
2. Discuss how these conditions make for readiness to accept special pleadings which may claim to show a way out of economic and social difficulties. Implement this discussion with references to other nations; to political, social, and economic conditions that lie back of such movements in our own country as the Workers Alliance, the Townsendites, and Thirty-Dollars-Every-Thursday.
3. Organize reading, research, and discussion activities around such considerations as:

First, can the democratic system alleviate these economic and social conditions?

Second, do the Communist and fascist systems alleviate these economic and social conditions? Many people have said of democracy: "It gives us freedom of speech, press, and assemblage. Yes. But we cannot eat those freedoms." Some say that Communism (or fascism) overcomes these difficulties. If so, *how*? Some say the Communist and fascist solutions are worse than the difficulties themselves, worse even than such difficulties as depression and unemployment. If so, *why*?

Third, in your opinion must America revise her economic, social, and political systems to cope effectively with its difficulties? Would such revision mean the sacrifice of liberty? Could some alternative economic and social system, neither Communism nor fascism, be evolved which would leave traditional American liberties intact? Where are these liberties now weak? How could they be strengthened? What responsibilities must accompany freedom?

Lerner, Max., *It Is Later Than You Think*. The Viking Press, New York, 1938.

Huxley, A. L., *Ends and Means*. Chatto & Windus, London, 1937.

Childs, Marquis, *Sweden: The Middle Way*. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1936.

The Recovery Problem in the United States. A Brookings Institution report. Washington, D. C., 1938.

We Saw It Happen, by thirteen correspondents of the New York Times. Simon & Schuster, New York, 1938.

Mumford, Lewis, *Men Must Act*. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1939.

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Note: By its charter the Institute is a non-profit corporation organized to assist the public in detecting and analyzing propaganda, but it is itself forbidden to engage in propaganda or otherwise attempt to influence legislation.

The Institute does not have all the answers; it lays no claim to infallibility. It will try to be scientific, objective, and accurate. If it makes mistakes, it will acknowledge them. It asks those who receive its letters to check its work. Chiefly the Institute will try to acquaint its subscribers with methods whereby they may become proficient in making their own analyses. Especially in its early letters the Institute has stressed methods of analysis of propaganda and of the channels through which propaganda flows. It will continue this policy; also it will publish from time to time, as funds permit, analyses of specific propagandas. An example of such is this current letter.

IV. GROUP STUDY

Tabloid Thinking

In the Institute's January, 1939 bulletin on fascist propaganda in the United States, the Worksheet set up a special section for individual and group study on "mind sets" and common practices of emotionalized thinking. We called it "tabloid thinking" (the Institute's own Name-calling). Study groups are urged to refer to the January, 1939 bulletin, pages 14 and 15. Using that bulletin as a guide, together with this, consider:

1. Popular "tabloid thinking" about, as well as use of, the labeling terms: fascist and Communist. Ask: when these Name-calling words are used as labels, what are the conclusions to which the users want us to jump? Find examples of the tabloid use of these terms by

(a) writers in Communist publications — pamphlets and the like; (b) writers in pro-fascist publications; (c) popular syndicated newspaper columnists; (d) use of the words "Communist" and "fascist" as "poison-label" devices for someone or something a person may not like.

Note: In this connection, it might be helpful to examine several issues of the official Communist Party newspaper, the *Daily Worker*. The paper is published at 50 East 13th Street, New York City. Informative is a study of Communist propaganda, entitled *World Revolutionary Propaganda*, by Harold D. Lasswell and Dorothy Blumenstock. (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1939.) This is a factual study of Communist propaganda in Chicago in recent years.

Propaganda Analysis

A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

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Number 7

Propaganda in the News

PEOPLE in St. Charles, Missouri, have been arguing for years about the Union Electric Company, and if Union Electric doesn't like what some of them say, that can easily be understood. For there are people in St. Charles who don't like Union Electric: they say that Union Electric is milking the city. They claim that rates are much too high, that service is none too good. St. Charles, they say, would be far better off with an electric plant that was city-owned and city-operated.

Of course, the Union Electric Company has plenty of friends in town, and they answer talk like that with cries of "Socialism!" All that municipal ownership will ever bring is trouble, so they say.

Unlike most towns in the United States, little St. Charles (population 10,491) has two competing newspapers. The *Cosmos-Monitor* is 100% for Union Electric; the *Banner-News* is 100% against. The papers fight tooth and nail. Until the summer of 1936 they were pretty evenly matched, too. Neither of them had any edge in circulation; they both printed four to six pages. Typical small-town papers, they were both conservative in make-up; and they both covered local news almost exclusively.

Then, Leslie Harrison joined the *Cosmos-Monitor* staff. He dressed up the paper with snappy black headlines, such as the big-town dailies have; signed up with International News Service to receive its so-called pony report. People could now find world news in the *Cosmos-Monitor*, as well as news of St. Charles, so the paper began to forge ahead. Soon it had 300 more readers than did the *Banner-News*.

Getting circulation wasn't Mr. Harrison's real job, however. The only reason that he wanted circulation was to reach more people with his stories. Quite naturally, most of his stories were about the Union Electric Company. Nor did Mr. Harrison pull any punches when he wrote them. On the day in August, 1936, when the City Council voted to install Diesel engines to supply power for the city waterworks (until then, Union Electric had been supplying the power), Mr. Harrison's story appeared under the headline: "Well Oiled Council Overrides Veto and Approves Oil Engines."

"A \$40,000 grab," is what he called the City Council's action.

In February, 1937, when Mayor Edward J. Schnare decided to run for re-election, with the financial backing of the Union Electric Company, Mr. Harrison set out to build him up. In the name of Mayor Schnare, he appealed for clothing and food to help flood sufferers in Southeast Missouri. A fleet of trucks was organized to carry the donations to Cape Girardeau—with Mayor Schnare riding at the head. Mr. Harrison went along with "Mayor Schnare's Caravan of Mercy" to report the gratitude of the people of Cape Girardeau.

Other Union Electric candidates received the same kind of treatment in Mr. Harrison's stories. For example, "Oscar Kuester, the well-known painter and decorator," who ran for Third Ward councilman, was described as one "who cannot be led astray." It wasn't Mr. Harrison's fault, therefore, if Mayor Schnare (and Mr. Kuester) were thumpingly defeated by candidates of the Municipal Ownership League. As

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Mr. Harrison said later, Mayor Schnare, on his record, was just too "hard to re-elect."

In June, 1938, Mr. Harrison suddenly quit the *Cosmos-Monitor* and left for California. Last month, the Securities and Exchange Commission learned why. It found that Mr. Harrison really had been working for the Union Electric Company, not for the *Cosmos-Monitor*. Union Electric had been paying his salary; Union Electric had gotten him on the *Cosmos-Monitor* staff.

It was at Union Electric's suggestion that Mr. Harrison quit the *Cosmos-Monitor*, too. Company officials had learned that S. E. C. was getting curious, and they didn't want Mr. Harrison around when the S. E. C. investigators came. So they asked Mr. Harrison to leave, giving him \$600, as they later explained, "to rehabilitate himself."

Unless the Public Utilities Commission of Tennessee is sadly mistaken, the Tennessee Electric Power Company has been mixing in the newspaper business, too. Down in Tennessee, however, there are laws about that sort of thing. And, if the Public Utilities Commission is right, Tennessee Electric Power has violated them on exactly 917 counts. This makes it liable to fines totaling almost \$1,000,000. The Commission hasn't said that it wants \$1,000,000; it has simply asked the District Attorney to look into the matter.

It seems that people in Chattanooga don't like Tennessee Electric Power any more than some in St. Charles like the Union Electric Company. Last year, they actually voted to set up their own city-owned distribution system with the aid of T. V. A. However, Tennessee Electric Power has friends in Chattanooga, just as Union Electric has friends in St. Charles. Some of them run the Chattanooga *Free Press*. So, for the past year and a half, Tennessee Electric Power has been subsidizing the *Free Press*. At least, that's what the Public Utilities Commission says.

The Commission says that Tennessee Electric Power officials enjoy reading the *Free Press* so much that it doesn't bother them in the least if the paper occasionally forgets to pay its bills. Nor do they worry much about the bills that Chattanooga Home Stores have been running up, for Home Stores are owned by the same man, Roy McDonald, who owns the Chatta-

nooga *Free Press*. All in all, Mr. McDonald owes the Tennessee Electric Power Company some \$75,000. The Commission says that it seems as though Tennessee Electric Power has been subsidizing Roy McDonald.

The Commission says that Tennessee Electric Power has been advertising in the *Free Press* and paying more than it should, another form of subsidy. It says, also, that some time ago the company handed the paper \$10,000—just like that—in the guise of "attorney's fees."

To members of the Chattanooga Newspaper Guild, the Commission's report means that the Chattanooga *Free Press*, as the "subsidized creature of the Tennessee Electric Power Company," has been prostituting "its Constitution-given right to freedom of the press." To Jo Conn Guild, Jr., president of the power company, however, the report is all "bunk."

Nearly three months have passed since Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, debated with Frank Gannett, the newspaper publisher, on America's Town Meeting of the Air; but some newspapers haven't got over it yet. Publishers grow hot under criticism just as most people do; and lately they have been taking it from all sides. After the New Deal landslide of 1936, the criticism began to sting even more than usual, especially when several left-wing commentators suggested that perhaps the American people didn't believe what they read in the papers any longer. Then came *America's Sixty Families* by Ferdinand Lundberg; and that didn't make the publishers feel any better. Neither did George Seldes' most recent book, *Lords of the Press*. So, when Mr. Ickes got started, too—well, the newspapers exploded. The newspapers are exploding still.

At least one specific charge that Mr. Ickes made to bolster his criticism simply wasn't so. Others were questionable, like his contention that newspapers had deliberately underplayed the results of Dr. Raymond Pearl's study of smoking in order not to offend the big tobacco companies: you could scrap about that forever. Newspapers were quick to point this out, and Mr. Ickes, himself, admitted it later when he addressed the National Lawyers Guild in Chicago. He insisted, however, that his criticism was valid, nonetheless. Newspaper publishers are tied up too closely with big industrialists and bankers, he declared.

Essentially the same thing has been said, time and time again, by William A. White, president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

One thing which the newspapers overlooked in hitting back at Mr. Ickes was the fact that Mr. Gannett wasn't alone in borrowing money from the International Paper and Power Company; the *Chicago Times* had borrowed money, too. In fact, the International Paper and Power Company still owns \$3,000,000 in *Chicago Times* bonds, and 9 per cent of its stock. Yet, Mr. Ickes approves of the *Chicago Times*; he mentioned it specifically in talking about "good papers."

In his address, Mr. Ickes charged that Mr. Gannett wasn't free to attack the power industry as long as his papers were "in hock to the power industry." Nevertheless, the *Chicago Times* has long been pro-New Deal, and especially pro-T. V. A.

On the other hand, the way in which the Gannett papers covered the debate between Mr. Ickes and their publisher didn't help the latter's defense any. Of the sixteen Gannett papers, three didn't even bother to quote Mr. Ickes; the other thirteen papers devoted 437 inches to Mr. Gannett's address, only 158 inches to what Mr. Ickes said. The Gannett-owned *Utica* (N. Y.) *Daily Press* ran the entire text of Mr. Gannett's address under the headline: "A Clear, Sincere Statement of the Faith and Duty of Newspaper Men." Another Gannett paper, the *Albany* (N. Y.) *Knickerbocker News*, reshuffled the Associated Press story on the debate. Still another, the *Danville* (Ill.) *Commercial News*, headlined it: "Freedom of Press Scoffed at by Ickes, Defended by Gannett."

In New York City the *World-Telegram* ran an editorial in which the Secretary of the Interior was referred to jovially as "Old Ick," and which joshed him for nearly one full column, without answering his criticisms. The editorial simply heaped gag upon gag, all directed at Mr. Ickes' personality. *Editor and Publisher*, commenting upon it, called the editorial "in bad taste." Dozens of readers protested. The *World-Telegram* ran seven letters of protest in one issue, six in the first edition of another. (In later editions the letters were taken out, the whole editorial page re-made.)

Shortly after, the *World-Telegram* ran another editorial, asking its readers for their evaluation of the paper. Of the hundreds of letters received, 28.7 per cent were favorable; 25.6 per cent were unfavorable; 17.7 per cent were favor-

able with minor criticism; 17.7 per cent were unfavorable with some commendation; and 10.3 per cent were indefinite or neutral.

Public relations, said *Editor and Publisher* last month, is the newspaper industry's great need.

~

A strikebreaker in Sharon, Mass.,
Hasty? died suddenly in the midst of the
New England truck drivers' strike
last January, and the *Boston Transcript*, jumping to conclusions, announced in letters two inches high: "Truck Strike Murder; Arbitration Refused." The story began: "A truck driver was beaten to death . . ."

Next day, the *Transcript* took it all back. Nobody had been murdered, or even beaten. The strike breaker had died of heart disease. All of which the *Transcript* duly reported. For that story, there was no splurge of black type, however. A modest, one-column head was all it got.

~

The Great Atlantic & Pacific
Spontaneous Tea Company's experiment in
mobilizing public opinion took
another turn last month when the Emergency Consumers Tax Council of New Jersey merged with the National Consumers Tax Commission. It was all done very formally, announced with much fanfare by Carl Byoir & Associates, Inc., the New York public relations firm, and reported in dozens of newspapers. At last, after long deliberation, the Emergency Consumers Tax Council and the National Consumers Tax Commission had decided that basically their interests were "identical."

To anyone who has followed the history of both organizations this decision was somewhat less than surprising. For they both are financed by the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company; they both are directed by Carl Byoir & Associates, Inc., which is the A. & P.'s public relations counsel; and they both use the materials of Business Organization, Inc., which is also run by Mr. Byoir. They are largely staffed by Mr. Byoir's men, who, even before the merger, shuttled back and forth between the organizations, as the need arose.

As the readers of the December, 1939, issue of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS know, Mr. Byoir is helping the A. & P. to fight anti-chain store legislation. He carries on this work by organizing consumers' groups to fight so-called hidden

taxes, for discriminatory taxation is the major legislative problem that now faces the chain stores. New Jersey was his laboratory. He started there by setting up the Emergency Consumers Tax Council. On the basis of what he learned in New Jersey, he spread out nation-wide. The National Consumers Tax Commission was the result.

In May, 1938, the INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS reported:

At present, Byoir is planning another organization against 'hidden taxes.' It will not be temporary as was the TaxCENTinels, but permanent; not local, but nation-wide. It will attempt to gain the support of all consumers.

And it will arise 'spontaneously.'

Apparently, it has.

Objectivity "News" story from the San Francisco *Examiner*:

Hearings of the LaFollette Senate committee into West Coast labor conditions will start in San Francisco. . . . The hearings will go into . . . such groups as the Associated Farmers and Industrial Association, which are scheduled for as much 'smearing' as the committee can apply while violent tactics of labor unions are always ignored by the committee.

Ostriches As far as the Chicago *Tribune* is concerned, William Hale Thompson simply doesn't exist. Mr. Thompson is the man who threatened once to "punch King George in the nose." He was formerly Mayor of Chicago, and still keeps his finger in Chicago politics. The *Tribune*, however, doesn't like him; so the staff has orders never to mention his name. "A former Mayor" can be quoted, if worst comes to worst.

The *Tribune* had trouble in sticking by this policy when Mr. Thompson ran in the recent Chicago primaries; but it came through with flying colors. It printed biographies of the leading candidates for Mayor: William Hale Thompson's biography was not among them. It covered the Chicago Teachers Union meeting at which the candidates spoke on Chicago public school problems. Mr. Thompson was among the speakers: the *Tribune* didn't even list him "among those present."

"The silent treatment" has been used by newspapers before. When Captain Anthony Eden

came to America last winter, Hearst editors received this order:

In connection with a proposition made to one of our papers to publicize the coming visit to America of Anthony Eden . . . No paper must give any publicity to what Mr. Eden says.

The Chief (William Randolph Hearst) says:

"I think Mr. Eden's impudence is only equalled by his lack of vision. We must get rid of him."

Communists Headline from the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*:

"N. Y. Writers Project Unit

"80 Per Cent Communistic,

"Employee Tells Dies Group"

The story:

Testifying before a committee on un-American activities, Drescola asserted that about 80 per cent of the persons on the New York City project were members of the Workers' Alliance local union which, he said, was dominated by Communists.

Catholics Only five or six months ago, Nazi and pro-fascist propagandists in the United States were bending over backwards to keep from offending Catholic followers of Father Charles E. Coughlin; but ever since Reichsfuehrer Adolf Hitler's speech before the Reichstag on January 31, the lid on Pope-baiting and priest-baiting has been off. "To annihilate the enemies of the State, the slanderous priests, is . . . the duty of the German Government," Adolf Hitler said in that address. One month later, as though echoing his words, Hermann Schwinn, West Coast leader of the German-American Bund, announced that "Dr." Joe Jeffers, founder and pastor of the Kingdom Temple in Los Angeles, had been appointed to lead the Bund's campaign against Catholicism. Said "Dr." Jeffers in describing his new work: "Roman Catholicism and Communistic anti-Christ Jewry are to be exposed. Father Coughlin is going to tell the truth about the Jews and the Catholics."

"Dr." Jeffers, who spent the summer of last year in Germany as the guest of the Ministry of Propaganda, continued: "Mussolini is going to seize everything from the Pope, who, himself, steals \$5,000,000 a year from Americans."

Propaganda Analysis Worksheet

MOST people have a much larger capacity for believing inconsistent propositions than is commonly supposed. We have but to draw upon everyday arguments on such topics as the New Deal, Communism, Fascism, and the rights of employer and employee to see how often people are carried away by emotionally-toned words, by logical fallacies, by wishful thinking, by habit, suggestion, and false analogy. Examples of this can easily be found in newspaper editorials, in public addresses, in familiar domestic arguments, and in our own conversation.

Rarely does a public speaker in organizing facts in support of his argument or conclusion take into account negative evidence. A case in point is found on page 3 of this bulletin: Mr. Ickes argued that Mr. Gannett was not free to attack the power industry because his papers were "in hock to the power industry." A generalization was implied about the effect of such a debt on a newspaper owner's "freedom" to print what he wishes. But, what about the *Chicago Times* which was "in hock" to the same company and which did attack the "power industry" insofar as the leaders of that industry are opposed to the T. V. A. and the New Deal?

To be sure, it still might be true that Mr. Gannett was not free to deal as he saw fit with the power industry or the things it strongly favored or disfavored. However, Mr. Ickes does not prove a "cause and effect" relationship between a newspaper's being indebted to a power company and its lack of freedom to express itself by selecting a case favorable to this interpretation (Mr. Gannett) and by overlooking a case unfavorable to this interpretation (*Chicago Times*). Possibly Mr. Gannett might see eye to eye with the power industry on such matters as public versus private ownership of utilities, regulation of utilities, etc., even if he owed no money to this industry.

On page 4 of this bulletin is another example of "crooked thinking." A news story quoted Mr. Drescola as saying that 80 per cent of those employed on the New York City Writer's Project were members of the Workers' Alliance, and that Communists "dominated" the union. Just what Mr. Drescola meant by "dominate" would be hard to say, for the word is vague, ambiguous. Did Mr. Drescola mean to say that some, or

many, or most, or all of the officers in the union were Communists? Did he mean to say that Communist Party members exert some influence over the union? What degree of influence? And how did they gain this influence?

Perhaps because the word "dominate" was so vague; perhaps because his own thinking was muddy, the copy reader on the *Springfield (Mass.) Republican*, who wrote the headline for the story fell into another pitfall of unsound thinking. He interpreted Mr. Drescola as charging not merely that 80 per cent of the people on the Writer's Project were members of the union, but that 80 per cent of them were "Communistic," whatever that may be. Now, let us assume that the Worker's Alliance is "dominated" by Communists? Does it necessarily follow that *all* the members are Communists? Suppose we join an organization like the American Legion, which, for the sake of argument, let us say, is "dominated" by Republicans? Does that mean that we, too, are Republicans?

Here are a few sample questions¹ taken from two of the Institute's experimental tests designed to measure some of the aspects of ability to think critically and reason logically.² Try them. Check on your own ability to reason well.

I. CAN YOU REASON LOGICALLY? (Test B)

Part I

Directions: Each of the exercises which follow contains two statements (called premises) and a conclusion drawn from those premises. The conclusion always begins with the word "therefore."

You are to decide whether, *assuming the premises to be true*, the conclusion would *necessarily* have to follow.

¹ For a more complete treatment of "straight and crooked thinking" see *How To Think Straight*, Robert H. Thouless; Simon & Schuster, New York, 1939. On almost every page Professor Thouless gives case histories of how we are carried away by "crooked thinking." He lists thirty-four dishonest tricks of argument and suggests antidotes for each.

² These tests are designed to measure achievement in six aspects of critical thinking. Test A (the Survey of Opinion test) measures relative freedom from a tendency to accept statements which are mutually exclusive opposites; Test B is the Logical Reasoning test; Test C, the Inference test; Test D, the Generalization test; Test E, the Strong and Weak Arguments test; Test F, the Evaluation of Arguments test. These tests are also useful for instructional purposes.

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.
130 MORNINGSID DRIVE, NEW YORK CITY

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- YES NO 1. All quadrupeds can sing.
Some horses are quadrupeds.
Therefore, some horses can sing.
- YES NO 2. No sinners are allowed to enter heaven.
No persons of unsound mind are allowed to enter heaven.
Therefore, all sinners are persons of unsound mind.
- YES NO 3. If Mr. C. is a lunatic, he cannot serve on a jury.
Mr. C. cannot serve on a jury.
Therefore, he is a lunatic.

Part II

Directions: The reasoning in some of the following exercises is good (correct); in others it is bad (incorrect). You are to decide whether, accepting the premises as being true, it is good or bad.

- YES NO 1. In a study of the relation between school absence and arithmetic grades in a certain public school system, it was found that during the year 1937, every child who had been absent from school more than four weeks failed in arithmetic. John, a pupil in that city, did not fail in arithmetic. We can therefore conclude that John was not absent more than four weeks.

II. INFERENCE TEST (Test C)

Directions: Mere facts may mean different things to different people. It is often important to know just what people think certain facts mean. Below you will find a series of statements of fact, and after

each statement some conclusions which some people would draw from them. You are to accept the first statement, the facts, as *true* regardless of whether you personally believe them to be so or not. *You are concerned merely with the question of whether the conclusions which have been drawn from the facts are true or false.*

At the left of each conclusion you will find the letters *T, PT, ID, PF,* and *F.* The meaning of these letters is as follows:

T means that you think the conclusion is definitely a *true one*; that it properly follows from the *statement of fact given in the exercise.*

PT means that you think the conclusion is *probably true*; that the facts in the statement point to the probability of the statement being true, but that one cannot be entirely sure that it is true on the basis of the facts given in the statement.

ID means that there is *insufficient data*; that you cannot tell from the evidence if the conclusion is true or false.

PF means that in the light of the facts given in the statement, you think the conclusion is *probably false*; that the chances are that it is false, but one cannot be entirely sure that it is false.

F means that you think the conclusion is definitely a *false one*; that it cannot possibly be drawn or inferred from the statement of fact as given in the exercise.

Put a circle around either the *T, PT, ID, PF,* or *F* at the left of each *conclusion.*

1. *Statement:* Mr. Smith was known to be a just and reasonable man and one who always kept his work. The Smiths lived near a lake that was very dangerous even for good swimmers. Mr. Smith had warned his children that he would whip anyone of them who went swimming in the lake or who went out in a rowboat alone. One day, Jimmie, the youngest son, came home with some flowers that grew only on an island in the middle of the lake. That evening, Jimmie got the worst whipping he had ever received from his father.

Conclusions:

- T PT ID PF F (a) Jimmie paddled to the island in a canoe.
- T PT ID PF F (b) Jimmie's father did not listen to Jimmie's explanation.
- T PT ID PF F (c) Jimmie was a poor swimmer.
- T PT ID PF F (d) Jimmie had been disobedient.
- T PT ID PF F (e) Jimmie picked the flowers in a spot on the mainland where they grew unknown to his father.

CORRECT ANSWERS

TEST B, PART I: Question No. 1, Yes; 2, No; 3, No.

TEST B, PART II: Question No. 1, Yes.

TEST C: Question No. 1a, ID; b, PF; c, ID; d, PT; e, F.

Propaganda Analysis

A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

130 MORNINGSIDES DRIVE : NEW YORK CITY

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Number 8

Propaganda in the Schools

OUR public schools are everybody's business. Does the high school history text refer to "Lee's well-trained army"? Into the superintendent's office come the members of the local G. A. R. to complain of "Southern propaganda!" A Jewish parent doesn't like Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*. Of all the plays that William Shakespeare wrote, they *would* have to pick on that one, he declares. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* displeases the Southern-born. *Little Black Sambo* irks the Negroes. Last week, Jimmy Smith came home from school and told his dad: "Our teacher says that we all came from monkeys." On the Sunday following, the fundamentalist church in town resounded again with protest. Once before the fundamentalist preacher was aroused. That was last year when Jimmy's sister Jane announced that "Washington drank whiskey." And not only drank it, but made it, too! "Anyway, that's what *teacher* said." At the "every Wednesday luncheon" of the Chamber of Commerce there is talk of "rooting out these bolshevistic teachers." Just how it can be done nobody is quite sure; but someone has suggested that all teachers and school executives "take an oath to uphold the Constitution." Hard-pressed business men, staggering under the ever-growing tax burden, have been looking around for something to cut from the city budget. "Why not get rid of the fads and frills in the schools?" they ask. However, the parents' association is against that. Once, the parents, too, were dubious about the so-called fads and frills—music, art, physical education, and especially community life problems; now they are sold on them, and ready to fight. So fight there will be

next fall, when the school board elections roll around.

The commencement day speaker who orates, "You, dear children, are the hope of America, the citizens of tomorrow" really is telling only half the story. For our youngsters are not only "the hope of America" but the hope of virtually every pressure group in America, to boot. "Citizens of tomorrow" will vote on national defense and foreign policy; they will vote on laws to regulate business, and laws to regulate agriculture, laws affecting labor, and laws to help the aged, the infirm. And with their dollars they will buy automobiles, cigarettes, and ice boxes. As might be expected, in every State, in every city, town, and village, there are those who hope that our citizens of tomorrow will vote and buy "right." And they petition and protest, they lobby and demonstrate, putting all the pressure at their command on school teachers and school executives to indoctrinate the youngsters with the "right ideas."

Thus, last month Horace Liversidge, president of the Philadelphia Electric Company, told 1,200 New York school teachers—members of the New York State Vocational Association—that our public schools were duty-bound to combat "the campaign of misrepresentation against business." Particularly did Mr. Liversidge denounce what he called "the doctrine that success in business was the by-product of exploitation." School teachers should place more emphasis upon the "old-fashioned homely American virtues," he said. "Praise business," he urged.¹

¹ See *New York Times*, April 14, 1939.

Similarly, the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, of Royal Oak, Mich., is now sponsoring an essay contest whose purpose is frankly to indoctrinate school children with his own ideas on foreign policy. "For the first time in American history," Father Coughlin reveals, "students and school pupils in both parochial and public schools are given the opportunity to express themselves on American participation in war." Prizes totalling \$16,000 are offered by *Social Justice*, Father Coughlin's weekly news-magazine, for essays on "Foreign Entanglements Lead to War," and similarly broad subjects. Special class prizes are being given, too.

"Here," says Father Coughlin, "is perhaps the greatest chance of your life to combine training in the art of writing with the chance to win a large cash reward. And, at the same time, you are aiding in the wondrous task of keeping our country out of bloody European wars and in spreading the social justice principles of Father Coughlin."

Propaganda From Within

Now it should not be imagined that all (or even most) of the pressure to propagandize in the schoolroom comes from *without* the school. For example, there are some educators who maintain that no valid distinction can be made between education and propaganda. Education is propaganda, so they say. For that reason, they insist, the only question to ask is: what kind of propaganda? In other words, *propaganda for what?* Among these educators can be found many of those who believe in "educating for the new social order." Among them can also be found many who believe in "getting back to good, old-fashioned Americanism." The American Education Association in New York includes many of these propagandist-teachers; so does Catholic Action.

Moreover, some educators who oppose the idea that education and propaganda are indistinguishable, and who say "We must educate, not indoctrinate" nevertheless are the most active of propagandists, themselves. Although they may find innumerable differences between propaganda and education in theory, in practice their only distinction is this: "I educate. Anyone who disagrees with me, therefore, is carrying on propaganda."

* *Social Justice*, April 3, 1939.

One difficulty that arose in making this Institute study of propaganda in the schools was the inability of such teachers and school executives to recognize propaganda when they saw it. Nor did they always realize when pressure was brought to bear upon them. For example, they would say that never had they been asked to dismiss certain teachers, or discard certain textbooks. "Never in twenty years," they would insist. Questioning, however, would reveal facts that seemed to indicate otherwise. Then would come the explanation: "Yes, but they were perfectly right. No teacher has any right to say things like that in class. I can't blame parents for protesting against such rubbish."

However, approximately one-third of the 483 school executives who answered the Institute's recent questionnaire on propaganda in the schools, and one-half of the 250 who consented to interviews *were* conscious of pressure upon them. The questionnaire was sent to members of the American Association of School Administrators of the National Education Association shortly before they met in Cleveland for their annual convention this year. Two pages in length, it asked the school executives for information about the community interests that were served by their schools; the organizations that participated in school activities; pressures that were brought to bear to use certain textbooks, teach or refrain from teaching certain subjects, and dismiss or hire certain teachers. Also sought was information about free publicity materials used in the classroom.

First among the pressure groups cited were religious organizations: Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. A close second were patriotic groups. The others, led by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, trailed far behind.

Religious Group Pressure

Different religious groups, it developed, have different quarrels to pick with the public schools. Using *The Merchant of Venice* in English classes brings protests from the Jews. Fundamentalists are opposed chiefly to courses in biology, though some executives also reported that sermons were frequently delivered against teachers who "paint and powder." There were three or four complaints that Protestant ministers had asked for the dismissal of Catholic teachers. One, that Catholics in the community had objected to hiring Jewish teachers. Catho-

the priests, it was said, are rather insistent upon getting permission for Catholic parents to keep their children home from school one morning each week, and send them instead to church for religious training. Christian Scientists try in every way to have courses in hygiene dropped. The Amish want their youngsters taught only "reading, writing, and 'rithmetic."

Followers of Father Coughlin were reported to have attempted, on several occasions, to make their schools conform to his so-called "principles of Social Justice."

If the religious groups are ever united, it generally is upon the need for some kind of religious training in the schools. Here and there, it appears, they have actually succeeded in having State laws passed that require at least the reading of the Bible in school assemblies. Local ministers' associations have induced their school boards to pass similar regulations.

On the whole, the educators appear not to mind this, and some even approve. So long as the Jews and Catholics in town don't object (there are communities where they have done so, apparently fearing sectarianism), the educators don't object either. A few, who do object, explain that separation of Church and State is such an integral part of "the American way of life," it should not be tampered with, no matter how slightly.

Surprisingly enough, religious organizations came in for the only bitter criticism that was directed against the activities of pressure groups. It was their methods that several of the educators objected to. Petitions and protests, and even mass delegations may sometimes be annoying, the educators agreed, but they are nevertheless "above-board." Sermons also were considered "above-board." So, too, was lobbying. On the other hand, the educators definitely were resentful when "people work behind our backs." And, said many, religious leaders have occasionally done just that, by prevailing upon teachers of their own faith to uphold certain, special doctrines in the classroom. This was characterized as "underhanded." One superintendent used the word "repulsive."

Practically all the complaints about this practice, incidentally, came from three States: Massachusetts, Connecticut, and California.

According to reports, by far the most active of the patriotic organizations is the American

Legion. Almost every community in the United States appears to have its Legion post; and everywhere Legionnaires work in and with the schools. Of course, this has long been the American Legion's national policy.³ How dutifully the posts carry out the policy is shown by the fact that 97 per cent of those who answered the Institute's questionnaire cited the work of the Legion.

Ordinarily, the Legion seems to content itself with giving prizes for scholastic proficiency, with sponsoring track and field meets, and with sponsoring essay contests, generally on the Constitution. In some public schools, the Legion directs patriotic celebrations, or else supplies the main speaker. Almost invariably, however, this is done at the invitation of the school authorities, the superintendents and principals reported. Nor did many of them indicate that Legionnaires had put any pressure on the authorities.

(It has been suggested that Legionnaires don't have to bring pressure to bear on school executives since many school executives are themselves Legionnaires.)

Still, the Legion *can* bring pressure to bear when it wants to, and more effectively, perhaps, than any other group. And it does so, particularly when it believes that certain teachers are pacifists, or that certain textbooks are unpatriotic. Forty-three different instances of this were cited by the educators who answered the Institute's questionnaire. Possibly because the Legion is organized to work State-wide, possibly because it can rally so much support to whatever cause it may espouse, in twenty-six of the instances the result was: "State loyalty oath passed," or "publisher deleted objectionable passage," or "text-book no longer on list."

Other Patriotic Groups

Almost invariably the Legion seems to have the support of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Only two superintendents mentioned the Sons of the American Revolution: the S. A. R., it would appear, is quite unconcerned about the public schools, or else is yet too small to exert much pressure. Not so the D. A. R. If the American Legion protests, the

³ In this connection, see *The American Legion as Educator*, by Dr. William Gellermann, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University. New York, 1938.

D. A. R. protests, too. Sometimes, though not often, it will even step right out in front.

The W. C. T. U., of course, believes that children should be taught about "the evils of drink." It has encountered little trouble in persuading State legislators to pass laws. Getting them enforced, however, is another problem. With few exceptions the stories told about W. C. T. U. pressure were concerned with petitions and delegations requesting that more emphasis be given in the school program to liquor's bad effects. Apparently in the past the W. C. T. U. has used methods that irritated some educators, for there were five comments in this vein: "Their attitude is getting better, much better, indeed." There was no explanation.

Significant among the other pressure groups that work in the schools are organizations of the foreign-born. These are concerned partly with having courses in their native tongues introduced, and partly in keeping any unfavorable mention of the homeland from creeping into history, civics, and geography classes. Particularly insistent about the latter are the Italian-born, the questionnaire showed. However, the problem seems to exist wherever there is any large number of people who came here from Europe. Poles, Germans, Czechs, and Swedes—all were mentioned as wanting their children reared with knowledge of their parents' native language, and love of their parents' native land.

Newspapers are militant, too. Indeed, Dr. Howard K. Beale has said, "The American press is one of the worst restraints on the school."⁴ Discussing the "Forces that Control the Schools," Dr. Beale has remarked:

The New York *Times*, generally more fairminded than many, has attacked teachers' unions and radicalism. The Los Angeles *Times* has been a large factor in maintaining business and political control of the Los Angeles schools. The Hearst papers not only carried the Charles Grant Miller attacks upon history textbooks, but have persistently baited "reds" and attacked freedom of teaching in other ways.

It must be remembered, however, that organizations will usually bring pressure to bear upon school executives only when they cannot otherwise gain their ends. For that reason, the

⁴ "Forces that Control the Schools," by Howard K. Beale. *Harper's*, October, 1934.

activities of pressure groups are indicative not so much of the extent of the propaganda that is being poured into the schools from outside as they are indicative of the extent of the average superintendent's resistance to such propaganda. This isn't always true; but, in all probability, the W. C. T. U., for example, wouldn't have to petition for greater emphasis on the evils of drink if superintendents and principals already were sold on the need for so much attention to alcohol.

Co-operation, not pressure, therefore is the chief way that propaganda seeps into the school-room—co-operation with town, country, State, and Federal government agencies; with local service clubs; and with leading manufacturers.

Business Men's Groups

Offhand it would seem that in co-operating in the work of the public schools the overwhelming majority of local and business men's organizations have no motive other than an honest desire to help young people. This seems especially true of the Lions Club, which received lavish praise for its work in helping underprivileged youngsters. It also would seem true of the Kiwanis, Rotary Clubs, and women's clubs, and even several bridge clubs also were listed by those who answered the questionnaire. In some communities, the Chamber of Commerce or the Junior Chamber of Commerce was said to have done fine work in sponsoring athletic meets and in giving prizes to children who do well in their studies. In addition, some Chambers of Commerce, it was reported, give scholarships to high school graduates, who could not otherwise enter college.

Local, State, and Federal agencies do co-operate with the schools in order frankly to carry on propaganda. However, their propaganda is for ends that almost unanimously would be considered good ends. Thus, members of the fire department will lecture on fire prevention; members of the police department will lecture on crime and safety. Health and social agencies will send lecturers to discuss the prevention of disease, or slum housing.

This is one side of the picture. The other side of the picture shows business men's organizations, veterans' organizations, and occasional labor unions going into the schools to indoctrinate the children with their own ideas. They

do this usually by sponsoring essay contests. Father Coughlin's essay contest is not unique. Every year there are dozens of similar nationwide contests, and hundreds of local contests. The Veterans of Foreign Wars will sponsor contests on national defense, the American Legion on preparedness, the D. A. R. on the Constitution. Peace organizations will sponsor contests on peace, Southerners on the life of General Robert E. Lee, Chambers of Commerce on "Why I Should Patronize Local Stores," or "How Business Helps Me." Naturally, these organizations ask the superintendents and principals to co-operate. Generally, the educators do, provided they are convinced that participation in the contest will help the children in their school work. However, it really doesn't make very much difference, because the youngsters participate anyway if the prize is big enough. For that reason, several educators denounced essay contests as "nuisances." Said one: "My children haven't time for their school work. They are too busy writing compositions on 'Why ——— Street Must Be Paved.' The realtor's association here is offering \$35 first prize."

Sometimes the contests are such transparent propaganda that even the school children realize it. One such case occurred last month in Miami, Florida, where there is talk of building an air base. The Dade Homes Protective League announced that it would give \$25 for the best essay opposing the base. The announcement brought this blast from the student council of Miami High School:

We believe it is selfish, insidious propaganda to oppose the protection we would secure from the proposed air base . . . we cannot help but fear that you have an ulterior motive upon which your propaganda is based and which is detrimental to our beloved city, our citizens and visitors. . . .⁵

What Manufacturers Do

Manufacturers get their propaganda into the schools through free study materials. Possibly one principal in every ten forbids the use of such materials; the others use them freely, some rely upon them. Last year, Courtenay Monsen, secretary of the Pasadena board of education, reported that of eighty-six California high school principals questioned nearly

80 per cent agreed that "printed matter issued by commercial or special interest agencies . . . are valuable classroom aids."⁶ The Institute's findings were essentially the same. Principals in poor communities, especially, commended the publicity materials. Here are typical comments: "I wouldn't know how to get along without them." "We have so little money for textbooks, I use anything I can get free." "I use *anything*, even seed catalogues."

Nor was it only lack of funds that made the publicity materials so desirable. Some educators consider them superior to any material on the subject prepared by teachers and educators. Others point out that often they are the *only* materials available.

Ten years ago, the Cleveland board of education conducted an investigation of the amount of free publicity materials in use in the Cleveland schools. Approximately 2,500 separate items were listed. To what extent they are now used in other cities, the Institute's study did not reveal. However, Cleveland, if not typical, is probably not unique.

The question arises: just what are these free publicity materials like? To answer it fully would probably require another issue of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, possibly two. For, there are so many publicity materials, and so many different types of material. Some are prepared as study guides for pupils; others as teaching guides. Some give the straight, unvarnished story of the industry; others, an exceedingly romanticized one. Some are concerned only with boosting the industry's product; others tell of the industry's labor policies; still others give its point of view on social legislation. Here you find an illustrated pamphlet, describing the industry's contribution to American prosperity; there, what purports to be a scientific study of the common cold, interspersed with plugs for Vicks Vapo-Rub.

Possibly, an indication of what the materials are like can be gained from this sampling of business concerns that distribute them: Ford Motor Company, Gulf Sulphur Company, General Motors, American Automobile Association, Metropolitan Life, General Foods, General

⁵ *Methods of Clearing Advertising Materials Used As Auxiliary Aids In Secondary Schools of Objectionable Propaganda*, report presented by Courtenay Monsen at the Convention of Secondary School Principals, Hollywood, California, April 11-13, 1938.

⁶ See *Miami Herald*, March 21, 1939.

Electric, American Canning Company, U. S. Chamber of Commerce, U. S. Steel, Pennsylvania Railroad, Proctor and Gamble, Eastman Kodak, Boeing Air School, Westinghouse Electric Company, Bell Telephone Laboratories, Leica Camera Company, National Dairy Company, Great Lakes Steel Mill, National Association of Manufacturers; and literally hundreds of others.

Notable among these materials, incidentally, are those of the National Association of Manufacturers and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. A series of pamphlets, "You and Industry," prepared by the N. A. M., reaches into literally thousands of American schoolrooms. The pamphlets discuss the "American Way of Life," as the N. A. M. understands it, and could be described only as propaganda against the New Deal. Similar propaganda is contained in booklets issued by the Chamber of Commerce, which have as their guiding theme, "What Hurts Business Hurts You."

Analyzing The Material

Superintendents and principals, in general, are well aware of the high propaganda content of most of the material. How many of them do anything about it, and what they do, the Institute's study did not reveal. About 9 per cent of the school executives volunteered the information that some attempt was made in the classroom to discount the propaganda. In Mr. Monsen's study, where the question was asked,

39 per cent said that "they cleared the material of propaganda by some method of analysis." The methods were unspecified.

That analysis is needed can hardly be denied. Equally as necessary is some working set of principles for selecting publicity materials for classroom use. It may be that every superintendent and every principal will find it necessary to develop his own criteria, especially fitted to meet the demands of his own community situation. The following are the criteria suggested in 1929 by the Committee on Propaganda in the Schools of the National Education Association:

Whether the agency (issuing the material) competes with a local concern.

Whether the agency is of the social welfare type.

Whether the agency is a "substantial" as opposed to a "fugitive" organization.

Whether the motive is selfish or altruistic.

Whether the motive is patriotic or otherwise.

Whether the agency has political connections.

Whether the agency is local or national.

Whether the aims of the agency concur with the aims of the school.

Whether the agency seeks to create a market for "staples" or "luxuries."

Whether the agency is locally popular or unpopular.

In the PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS WORKSHEET (see page 7), several other criteria are suggested. Principals and superintendents may want to consider them, as well as those of the N. E. A., before devising their own.

Propaganda Analysis Worksheet

A BATTLE of words is raging over the question of war and peace. On every side we are surrounded by pressure groups, bombarding us day and night with propaganda—for increased armaments; for military, economic, or "moral" alliance with England and France; for "isolation"; for abandonment of the Neutrality Act; for strengthening of the Neutrality Act; for the Ludlow Amendment; for special war taxes designed to eliminate war profiteering; for the drafting of labor and capital, as well as of men, in time of war.

As the conflict over foreign policy becomes more intense—and it now seems probable that it *will* become more intense—we can expect

that an ever-increasing barrage will be unleashed at the public schools. In this issue of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS we have mentioned two or three of the groups that already have "taken sides" on questions of war and peace, that already have begun to direct their propaganda at the schools.¹

Those who read the February, 1939, issue of

¹ Foremost among these propaganda activities in the schools is the \$16,000 "Anti-War Essay Contest," sponsored by the Rev. Father Coughlin, of Royal Oak, Michigan. Announcements of the contest in *Social Justice* magazine, April 3 and 10, stipulate that all contest entrants submit two yearly or four half-yearly subscriptions to *Social Justice* with their essays.

PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, "War in China," will remember that Japan, too, is spreading its propaganda in the schools, attempting to indoctrinate the children by indoctrinating their principals and teachers. Still another example is the work of Ralph Townsend who last month sent copies of his pamphlet, *The High Cost of Hate*,² to hundreds of key educators the country over. Mr. Townsend is co-operating with the Japanese Chamber of Commerce in San Francisco in their efforts to combat opposition here to Japan's invasion of China. He seeks in this pamphlet to destroy the picture of events in China that school teachers have obtained from their newspaper reading by assailing the American press.³

I. GROUP WORK PROJECT

Inside the School

Nearly one hundred years ago, Alexis De Tocqueville, in his appraisal of American life and institutions, wrote: "Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations. They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies, in which all take part, but associations of a thousand other kinds—religious, moral, serious, futile, general or restricted, enormous or diminutive. The Americans make associations to give entertainments, to found seminaries, to build inns, to construct churches, to diffuse books, to send missionaries to the antipodes; . . . If it be proposed to inculcate some truth, or to foster some feeling, by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society. Wherever, at the head of some new undertaking, you see the government in France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association."

1. Encourage a pupil-led (or group member-led) discussion of such questions as:
If De Tocqueville were to visit America today would he find his observation still valid?
Do you believe, as did De Tocqueville, that joint action is a necessity in a democracy? If so, why? If not, why not?
Name the organizations in your own school and community.
What special interests or points of view are represented in their policies and programs?

² Townsend, Ralph, *The High Cost of Hate*, Box 347, San Francisco, California.

Wherein, if at all, do policies or points of view of any of these organizations come into conflict?

2. Working in committees, construct a "Yardstick" for appraising and evaluating the policies and activities of local and national organizations operating in your school and in your community. You have read the N. E. A. criteria. Here are the criteria suggested by the directors of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis:⁴

Who runs the organization?

Where does it get its money?

Are the people who run it doing so to promote a special interest? If so, what is this special interest? Is this special interest in accord with traditional concepts of American democracy, which you worked out in connection with January and March, 1939 Worksheets?

How well qualified are the people who run the organization, by training, education, background, experience?

Have they any great bias other than those caused by special interests which might conceivably affect their work?

What methods do they use to carry out their policies and programs?

How does their work impress you on the basis of what you already know?

How is their work evaluated by people who are *qualified* to evaluate? (In this connection, the question of competent authorities arises.)

3. After group members have refined these questions through specific application to typical organizations, such as the Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, Junior Red Cross, Order of De Molay, Hi-Y, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Lions Club, Kiwanis, Women's Christian Temperance Union, direct their attention to use of the "Yardstick" with peace organizations or peace and foreign policy programs of associations with more embracing interests. Examples: National Council for Prevention of War, American Peace Society,

⁴ Note to group leader: In appraising any organization we must take *many* factors into consideration, weighing them, evaluating them as best we can: it is not enough to deal with any one or two or three factors. Accordingly, the Institute for Propaganda Analysis submits the sample questions listed above—admittedly incomplete—to be used as suggested criteria in appraising the policies and programs of organizations. Use these questions as leads in building the "Yardstick." Add other pertinent inquiries which will grow out of applying these criteria to specific organizations in your school and community.

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.
130 MORNINGSID DRIVE, NEW YORK CITY

Officers: President, E. C. Lindeman, New York School of Social Work; Vice President, Kirtley Mather, Harvard University; Secretary, Clyde R. Miller, Teachers College, Columbia University; Treasurer, Ned H. Dearborn, New York University.

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Foreign Policy Association, National Society for the Cause and Cure of War, The American School Citizenship League, Daughters of the American Revolution, and the American Legion.

II. READING AND DISCUSSION

Propaganda Case Studies

This bulletin points out that American girls and boys are "the hope of virtually every pressure group in America." It is a matter of record that, although aims and aspirations may differ, the history of many organizations in this country shows a unity of faith in the common schools as a means to attain that kind of citizenship, which, *to them*, seems fundamental to the preservation of their own interests and folkways and mores. As a result, there have entered into the domain of the public schools organized laymen with proposals touching upon almost every aspect of instruction of children in the schools. Furthermore, costs of instruction have created an interest in the character of public school education.

1. Forced under the spotlight because of the publicity surrounding the hearings of the Federal Trade Commission, were the extensive activities of the public utilities in American public schools, a few years ago. For "a story of the public utilities in the schools," read Chapter XXIII of *Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth* by Bessie L. Pierce.⁴

⁴*Part III: Report of the Commission on the Social Studies*, American Historical Association. C. Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1933.

⁵*Utility Corporations: Report of the Federal Trade Commission to the Senate of the United States, No. 81-A, Publicity and Propaganda Activities by Utility Groups and Companies*. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1936.

For a more comprehensive account, read the Federal Trade Commission Report itself.⁶

2. The American Legion through its National Americanism Commission holds itself "the foremost agency for the preservation of American ideals and traditions."⁶ For a succinct account of the origin of the American Legion and of its activities in the schools, read Chapter III of Pierce's *Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth*. For a more current and specific report of Legion propaganda in the public schools, read William Gellermann's *The American Legion as Educator*.
3. "In a hundred ways today, what a nation thinks, what it eats, what it wears and what it does, are all under the pressure of propaganda. Propaganda comes to us, often, through media with which we are so familiar we perhaps hardly realize what is taking place . . . (fade) . . ." The quotation given above, is the announcer's opening statement in "Exits and Entrances," the Columbia Broadcasting System's (American School of the Air) special program on how propaganda *through the schools* may be used by master propagandists to prepare the youth and the adults of a nation (fictitious) for a war of aggression. Supplement reading of this dramatic script with examination of such books as Harold D. Lasswell's *Propaganda Technique in the World War*.⁷
4. *Group Work Project:* After study and discussion of the programs and techniques of master propagandists, write a radio dramatization entitled, "Mobilizing Central High School for War." (Substitute the name of your own community or neighboring school.) Show vividly just how a corps of propagandists would manipulate youth in your own and other schools.⁸

⁶"The Legion: What It Is Doing, What It Has Done," *The American Legion Weekly*, Vol. VI (February 1, 1924), p. 9.

⁷Lasswell, Harold D. *Propaganda Technique in the World War*. A. A. Knopf, New York, 1927.

⁸Preparatory to this work project, get the script of the "Exits and Entrances" broadcast presented June 29, 1938, by Columbia Broadcasting System's American School of the Air. Limited number of mimeographed copies of script available at Institute for Propaganda Analysis for 10c each.

Propaganda Analysis

A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

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Volume II

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Number 9

Father Coughlin: Priest and Politician

THE story of the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin is the story of America in depression. It doesn't begin in the United States, however; it begins in Canada, where Charles Edward Coughlin was born, and where he went to school. He went to St. Mary's parochial school in Hamilton, Ontario, and later to St. Michael's College. (A devout Catholic, his American-born father was sexton of the cathedral in Hamilton.) At the age of twenty, he was graduated from the University of Toronto. And it was there, in Toronto, Canada, that he was ordained, and nearby, at the Assumption College in Sandwich, that he took up teaching.

The Reverend Charles E. Coughlin has been teaching ever since. There are those who believe that he teaches hatred: class hatred, race hatred, religious hatred. And they say that his textbook is *Mein Kampf*. Father Coughlin says that he teaches Christianity. He calls his Sunday afternoon radio-sermons "my educational talks on economics and politics"; but he says that he bases them foursquare upon the encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI.

Some Catholics think so. Others don't. His Eminence George Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago has said that Father Coughlin "is not authorized to speak for the Catholic Church, nor does he represent the doctrine or sentiments of the church."¹ A leading Catholic layman, Alfred E. Smith, former Governor of the State of New York, has accused Father Coughlin of "bearing false witness."² The *Osservatore Ro-*

mano, which is said to reflect the views of the Vatican, has twice rebuked him.³ On the other hand, there are tens of thousands who hang on his every word. They parade in wind and snow, crying his name; they stand on street corners, shouting headlines from *Social Justice*, his weekly news-magazine.

The American Institute of Public Opinion has reported⁴ that 3,500,000 men and women listen to Father Coughlin on the radio every Sunday, that 15,000,000 listen to him occasionally. Sixty-seven per cent of the regular listeners, and 51 per cent of the occasional listeners approve of him; they say: "He knows what he's talking about."

This is 1939. The United States has been through almost ten years of depression. At least 10,000,000 men can't find jobs. Nearly half of them are on relief, many, perhaps, because their savings were lost in the bank crash of '32 and '33. In Europe, men are marching, and there is talk of war. People haven't forgotten the last World War; and they don't want another.

In 1921, business was bad, too. America was in the midst of the post-war depression. That depression was short-lived, however, and few people worried much about it. The young Canadian priest at the Assumption College studied political science, economics, and sociology; but he talked religion. One Sunday he was asked to preach in St. Agnes's Church in Detroit. His sermon was pretty much like any other, but he—the man—stood out. He was more

¹ Statement issued December 11, 1938.

² See New York Times, November 29, 1933.

³ See New York Times, September 3 and 10, 1936.

⁴ January 9, 1939.

brilliant, more flowery, more poetic than most young priests. He was asked to come back; and come back he did, week after week for nearly two years. Finally, his superiors decided to keep him in the United States, first at Kalamazoo, Michigan, later at Royal Oak.

It was now 1926. The post-war boom was on. Politicians were talking about the New Era. (The New Freedom was dead, the New Deal still unborn.) Father Coughlin asked the manager of radio station WJR, which then was owned by the Detroit *Free Press*, to broadcast his sermons. It seemed like good business to WJR, for Detroit is 34 per cent Catholic. And when Father Coughlin asked WJR to let him deliver afternoon talks for children, that seemed like good business, too.

So Father Coughlin was on the air, talking about religion, but mixing his religion with politics, economics, and sociology. Three years passed: 1927, '28, and '29. Prices, wages, and profits were going up. Politicians and economists were saying that America had conquered the problem of the economic cycle; that never would there be another crash, never another depression. Father Coughlin's ideas about the economic system went unnoticed. Nobody cared.

The Crash of '29

October, 1929: the crash. And now people *did* care. They began to notice Father Coughlin. They began to write letters to station WJR, commenting on what Father Coughlin had said—not about religion, but about business and finance.

At first he didn't quite catch on, but the letters poured in—hundreds of letters, thousands of letters—all of them about the depression. People were losing their jobs, their homes, their farms, their savings. They wanted to know why. In 1930, therefore, Father Coughlin decided to expand, organized the Radio League of the Little Flower, and bought time on stations in Chicago and Cincinnati. Moreover, he revamped his radio technique. No longer would he serve his listeners religion, flavored with economics. Now he was going to give them economics, flavored with religion. More letters poured in. People couldn't get enough of Father Coughlin's economic theories, clamored for more. And they sent money. The dollar bills piled up.

The dollar bills piled up, and Father Cough-

lin bought more time—on sixteen Columbia stations. Meanwhile, the depression was getting worse. Deflation swept onward. Now, deflation always means hard times for the Midwestern farmer: it means low prices. Throughout American history, the farmer has demanded inflation—"easy money." Father Coughlin was for easy money. He wanted to "restore silver to its proper value." Just what its proper value was, he never did quite say. Nevertheless, the farmers of the Midwest knew what he was talking about. He was talking about inflation. So the letters continued to pour in, and with them came money.

Father Coughlin said that if "Hoover prosperity" were to return it would bring with it another World War. One million two hundred thousand letters are reported to have flooded into his office, commenting on that speech.⁵

Father Coughlin denounced J. P. Morgan, Andrew Mellon, Ogden Mills, and Eugene Meyer as "the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse." Six hundred thousand letters are said to have come in.⁶

Father Coughlin was training his guns now on Wall Street, on the speculator, on the "international banker." Deflation and Wall Street are inseparably linked in the mind of the Midwestern farmer and small business man. Since the days of Alexander Hamilton, American bankers have fought with American farmers over the question of "sound finance." A generation ago, the Democratic Party was torn apart by that issue, by the phrase "Cross of Gold." It was the banker who caused deflation, many people thought; it was the banker who stepped in and foreclosed on the farmer when deflation made it difficult for him to pay taxes and interest—the hated "international banker."

The Bank Failures

On top of that, America's whole banking structure was crumbling. All over the country, banks were closing their doors, never to reopen them. "Small people" were losing their savings. Hatred of bankers grew.

So Father Coughlin's attacks on the bankers were popular, that is, with almost everybody but the bankers themselves and the big industrialists. The Detroit *Free Press*, which had put

⁵ Raymond Gram Swing: *Forerunners of American Fascism*, p. 40. Julian Messner, Inc., New York, 1935.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

Father Coughlin on the air, turned against him. E. D. Stair, publisher of the *Free Press* and leading Detroit banker, called him "an ecclesiastical Huey Long." Mr. Stair's bank, the First National, had just closed down.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was in the White House, swept into office by the same popular upsurge that had swept Father Coughlin to fame. The Reverend Charles E. Coughlin was denouncing the "international banker." President Franklin D. Roosevelt was driving "the money changers from the temple." Father Coughlin was for President Roosevelt "100 per cent." He shouted: "Roosevelt or Ruin!" He commuted between Detroit and Washington, conferring with Raymond Moley and other members of the "brain trust." Sunday after Sunday he declaimed: "Roosevelt or Ruin!"

He was at the height of his popularity. He didn't have time for his parish: three young priests took care of the parish work and preached the sermons. He employed his own brain trust, experts who combed books, and pamphlets, and government documents for material to help in the writing of his radio-sermons. One hundred clerks and stenographers were needed to handle Father Coughlin's mail alone, the mail of the man who once had said:

I am neither Republican, Democrat, nor Socialist. I glory in the fact that I am a simple Catholic priest endeavoring to inject Christianity into the fabric of an economic system woven upon the loom of greed by the cunning fingers of those who manipulate the shuttles of human lives for their own selfish purposes.

There were some facts about the "simple Catholic priest" that were rather difficult to explain, however. The *Free Press* revealed that Father Coughlin, while denouncing Wall Street, had at the same time been playing the stock market. The *Free Press* called it "speculation." Father Coughlin said that he simply had made "an investment." The Government published the names of those who held silver, and it was revealed that Father Coughlin, through his secretary, held more than anyone else in Michigan: 500,000 ounces. Father Coughlin had said: "The restoration of silver to its proper value is of Christian concern. I send you a call for the mobilization of all Christianity against the god of gold." To many it seemed as though Father Coughlin had been less concerned with Christianity than with private gain.

Disillusionment swept away many of his followers. He began to criticize organized labor at the very time when organized labor was making its great comeback, with the help of N.R.A. In the Detroit automobile factories, where Father Coughlin had once been looked upon as the new Messiah, sent to lead us from this wilderness of depression and unemployment, the striking A. F. of L. workers now called him "Fascist." He was on the downgrade.

Break With Roosevelt

Yet, he could still rally millions. Never has Washington seen as many telegrams as flooded the capital when he made his attack on the World Court. Postal Telegraph and Western Union simply couldn't handle them. Messenger boys delivered them literally by the basketful.

No sooner did he break with the New Deal, however, than his following began to evaporate. It took Father Coughlin nearly two years to make the break. In the autumn of 1934, he already was grumbling to friends, though on the air he still declaimed "Roosevelt or Ruin!" That winter, the *Detroit News* reported that he was flirting with five anti-New Deal organizations—the Committee of the Nation, the National Grange, the American Farm Federation, the National Farm Union, and the Sound Money League.⁷ This he denied, but his speeches were getting more and more critical of the Administration. In 1935, attacking General Hugh S. Johnson, he reiterated his phrase "Roosevelt or Ruin!" Nevertheless, as Raymond Gram Swing wrote shortly afterwards, his support was "certainly not convincing."⁸

The final break came in 1936, during the Presidential campaign. Father Coughlin announced his support of Representative William Lemke. He declared: "Roosevelt and Ruin!" And he blasted the President with insults. He called him "that great betrayer and liar, Franklin Double-Cross Roosevelt." He was forced to apologize.⁹ In September, he called the President "the anti-God." The Archbishop of Cincinnati was outraged and publicly rebuked him.¹⁰ In October, he called the President "scab." Again he was forced to apologize.¹¹ Mon-

⁷ *Detroit News*, November 21, 1934.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁹ See *New York Times*, July 24, 1936.

¹⁰ See *New York Times*, September 26, 1936.

¹¹ See *New York Times*, November 1, 1936.

signor John A. Ryan, who accused Father Coughlin of misquoting the Pope's encyclicals, was charged with being in the employ of the New Deal.¹² Father Coughlin announced: "If I cannot swing at least 9,000,000 votes to Mr. Lemke I will quit broadcasting educational talks on economics and politics."

Mr. Lemke didn't get 9,000,000 votes. He didn't get one-tenth that number. His total vote was exactly 891,858. On November 7, 1936, after the election returns were in, Father Coughlin said:

I am withdrawing from all radio activity in the best interests of all the people. I am doing this without attempting to offer one alibi, thereby proving that my promise is better than my bond.

Neither Father Coughlin nor anyone else could buck the New Deal in 1936. Father Coughlin tried, and it drove him into obscurity, temporary obscurity, yes, but rankling nonetheless.

Roosevelt's Popularity Recedes

The New Deal tide reached its high on November 4, 1936; it has been receding steadily ever since. That is apparent. To some, the New Deal is possibly too radical; to others, it seems not radical enough. And there are still others who don't think in terms of radical or conservative, who simply feel that for some reason the New Deal hasn't been working, that it just isn't the answer to America's troubles. Now many of these people have gone back to Republicanism: the 1938 election returns seem to show that. On the other hand, there are many who remember only too well the days of Hooverism: they feel that if the New Deal isn't the answer, neither is the G. O. P.

As the New Deal tide receded, leaving more and more of these disillusioned New Dealers high and dry, Father Coughlin saw his opportunity. So back on the air he went, despite his promise. His new theme: fascism.

Now it must be admitted that Father Coughlin has always leaned toward fascism. Even in the days when he was intensely pro-New Deal, his speeches had fascist overtones. As far back as 1935, Mr. Swing could write:

... More nearly than any demagogue in America he (Father Coughlin) has the formula for a fascist party, a semi-radical program which is "safe" on the labor question, which guarantees the profit system,

¹² See New York Times, October 12, 1936.

and which appeals simultaneously to agriculture, the middle class, and the big employer. Already he is first in the field with his kind of party, and he must know that no other fascist movement can grow in this country without him.

Nevertheless, his program then was still vague. It sounded more like the Farmer-Labor platform than it did like fascism. Occasionally, Father Coughlin would attack the Jews; more often, he would attack the Communists; but rarely did he then link the Jews with Communism, as the Nazis do, nor were his attacks on the Jews particularly direct. Although he may not have been quite militant in his defense of democracy, neither was he especially critical. On the whole he stuck to issues which then were agitating the farmers and the lower middle class: specific issues, traditional American issues.

The Father Coughlin who came back on the air in 1937 made no bones about his love of Nazism and fascism, however; nor about his contempt for democracy. On November 6, 1938, for example, he declaimed contemptuously on the manner in which democracies glorify "the magic of numbers." Discussing the French Revolution, he said that "a new king was set upon the throne of Notre Dame in Paris—the king symbolizing the magic of numbers, the king which said, 'mankind is king and the majority opinion shall prevail.'" This "magic of numbers"—democracy—he blamed for having "religiously kept religion out of government and fanatically denied the entrance of Christ's principles into economy, business, industry, and agriculture."

Attack on Democracy

In like vein did *Social Justice* comment on August 1, 1938:

Democracy! More honored in the breach than in the observance.

Democracy! A mockery that mouths the word and obstructs every effort on the part of an honest people to establish a government for the welfare of the people.

Democracy! A cloak under which hide the culprits who have built up an inorganic tumor of government which is sapping away the wealth of its citizens through confiscatory taxation.

And on several occasions before and since, Father Coughlin has come out flatly against our representative form of government, urging that

we scrap the Congress of the United States in favor of the form of government that now exists in fascist Italy, the "Corporate State." Indeed, his address of March 13, 1938 was devoted entirely to lauding the "Corporate State."

Increasingly, Father Coughlin has adopted the Nazi technique of shouting "Jew!" and "Communist!" As the January, 1939 issue of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, "The Attack on Democracy," pointed out, the Nazi technique is simple. "First, make the words 'Jew' and 'Communist' so odious that people will shrink from anything or anybody on which they may be pinned. Then, you have only to call those people you don't like 'Communist' or 'Jewish' in order to destroy them."

Thus, Father Coughlin reprinted in *Social Justice* last winter the long-discredited *Protocols of Zion* to prove that "world Jewry" is plotting to enslave the people of every other religious faith; and that "Jewry" created democracy, capitalism, the gold standard, and freedom of press for this reason. The *Protocols*, of course, are forgeries: there can be absolutely no doubt of that. Only recently, Father Pierre Charles picked the *Protocols* to pieces in the *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, published by the Jesuit faculty of theology of Louvain. And the Catholic magazine *America*, commenting on his article, said: "America took a positive stand on the *Protocols* many years ago, finding them to be an outrageous forgery."¹³ So Father Coughlin, in reprinting the *Protocols*, did not at first dare to defend their authenticity. Instead, he merely said that he thought *Social Justice* readers might find them of interest. Later, he said that while the *Protocols* might not be authentic, they nevertheless were "factual."

On November 20, 1938, Father Coughlin went on the air to charge that it was the Jews who created the Soviet Union, and that Jews were behind the Communist movement everywhere. This was another Nazi trick, as leading Catholics, Jews, and Protestants were quick to point out. Father William C. Kernan (Episcopalian), writing in *The Nation* of December 17, 1938, charged that Father Coughlin had based his speech in part upon information supplied by the Nazi *World-Service*, which is published in Erfurt, Germany. The Catholic weekly *Commonweal* attacked Father Coughlin's "all too pious acceptance of propaganda from a party whose Fuehrer boasts his machine is based on huge lies." Alfred E. Smith joined the attack.

So did Frank J. Hogan, president of the American Bar Association.¹⁴

Use of Card-Stacking

Father Coughlin's entire address was an example of card-stacking, packed with distortions, exaggerations, misquotations, and outright misstatements of fact. For example: Father Coughlin said that only three of the fifty-nine members of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party were non-Jews. Actually, the Central Committee has nearly twice fifty-nine members, and virtually all of them are non-Jews. Father Coughlin quoted statements from the "official White Paper issued by the English War Cabinet in 1919." Nobody else who has examined the document can find the statements there. "A report" of the U. S. Secret Service also was quoted. According to Frank J. Wilson, chief of the Secret Service, the report simply doesn't exist.¹⁵ The *American Hebrew* was misquoted: Father Coughlin changed the quotation's meaning by adding three words of his own.

If Father Coughlin's speech was badly received in the United States, he might, perhaps, have found solace in what the Germans and Italians said about it. Otto D. Tolischus, staff correspondent of the *New York Times*, reported on November 27, 1938: "The German hero in America for the moment is the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin . . ." On January 16, 1939 the Associated Press reported from Rome:

The Rev. Charles E. Coughlin of Royal Oak, Michigan, received fascist praise and thanks today from the *Regime Fascista*, the newspaper that has led the attacks on the Vatican in the dispute over the Italian anti-Semitic measures.

Gradually, since coming back on the air, Father Coughlin has been refining not only his propaganda technique but his program, as well. As outlined in his radio-sermon of February 26, 1939, it closely parallels the program of the Nazi party before it rose to power in Germany. Of the latter, the May, 1938 issue of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, "The Propaganda Techniques of German Fascism," has said:

Then came Adolf Hitler, a leader, who promised the German people all that they wanted. Most Ger-

¹³ April 30, 1938.

¹⁴ "An American Catholic Speaks on Intolerance," radio address by Frank J. Hogan, December 11, 1938.

¹⁵ See *New York Times*, November 29, 1938.

mans felt that conditions were too bad even to question how all that he offered could be achieved. The few who did raise their voices in protest or doubt were silenced by argument, by force, or by honest conviction that this new scheme, this new hope, must be tried. Everything was promised to everyone: socialism to the laborer and to the more liberal *Kleinbürger*; partition of the great estates to the peasant; dissolution of the trusts and economic security to the middle class citizen; salvation from Communism to the upper bourgeois; and to everyone elimination of the Jews, rearmament of the Reich, and "national liberation."

"Everything was promised to every one." That was Adolf Hitler's program. And that, as will be seen, is also Father Coughlin's.

Father Coughlin, himself, writing in the February 13th issue of *Social Justice*, has said:

I am beginning to understand why I have been dubbed a "Nazi" or a "Fascist" by the Jewish publications in America; for practically all the . . . principles of social justice are being put into practice in Italy and Germany.

Why Propaganda Works

Now, it seems obvious that any program which promises everything to everybody must, of necessity, be self-contradictory. And one might well ask how any great number of people could be expected to swallow it. The answer is simple: "Most Germans felt that conditions were too bad even to question how all that he (Adolf Hitler) offered could be achieved." Not questioning, not analyzing, they followed blindly—to Nazi dictatorship.

Of course, the conditions which existed in Germany before Adolf Hitler were far different from those which exist in the United States today. America was not defeated in war; America was not burdened with reparations; America has no lack of natural resources. Nevertheless, America does have poverty; America does have unemployment; for many small business men and farmers, times have rarely been worse. Some of them no doubt have begun to lose faith in the ability of capitalism and democracy to eliminate poverty and unemployment. The G. O. P. failed them, so they feel, in 1929; now, they say, the New Deal is failing them. Along comes Father Coughlin with his new scheme, his new hope. And, like millions of Germans in 1933, they believe that it "must be tried."

Some light is thrown on the kind of people

who approve of Father Coughlin by the poll of American Institute of Public Opinion.¹⁰ It showed that his followers are for the most part "in the lower income groups," and that far more of them voted for President Roosevelt in 1936 than for Alf M. Landon.

So Father Coughlin, knowing that his followers are disillusioned with present-day capitalism, attacks it with radical-sounding phrases. At the same time he realizes that, in part at least, their disillusionment springs from the fact that during these years of depression they have lost their property—their homes, their farms, their jobs. And he also knows that what they really want is somehow to get their property back. Consequently, he defends the private ownership of property, which is the basis of capitalism. He advocates the right of labor to organize, which pleases the workers in his audience. To catch the small business man, who probably doesn't like unions, he attacks the closed shop, picketing, and strikes. Capitalism means production for profit. That is selfish, "unChristian." However, production for use is Socialism, and Socialism is akin to Communism, which Father Coughlin hates. Consequently, he advocates "production for use at a profit." In this way he attempts to satisfy everybody.

Father Coughlin sees in his program America's only alternative to both Nazism and Communism. Nevertheless, the program is strikingly like the Nazi program, as described by Dr. Frederick L. Schuman in *The Nazi Dictatorship*.

The Nazis, in their 25-point program, said: "Personal enrichment due to a war must be regarded as a crime against the nation." Father Coughlin, in his speech of February 26, echoed:

What profit does the soldier in the front trench acquire out of the grime, the vermin, and the wound which he receives? What profit should those who remain at home acquire? They contribute no more than does the soldier who risks his life, and let them gain no more.

Attitudes Toward Labor

The Nazis, according to Dr. Schuman, "while promoting the complete organization of labor for disciplinary purposes, insisted that unions should not be weapons of class struggle, but merely agencies to represent occupational interests. In the Fascist State, strikes are unneces-

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*

sary and intolerable . . ." Father Coughlin echoes:

This program must incorporate the right of labor to organize. . . . I do not mean that labor should organize only for its own selfish interests. Labor should organize for its own protection and for the common good of the nation, on the basis that capital cannot do without labor, and labor cannot do without capital. . . . Neither capital nor labor should organize against each other because social justice must be meted out to all without exception.

Father Coughlin's statement may be rather vague, and sugar-coated with Glittering Generalities like "social justice"; still there can be little doubt that what he advocates is the establishment in the United States of something like the Nazi Labor Front, in which the German worker is regimented, prevented from striking or from making any independent protest.

According to Dr. Schuman, the Nazis soon after getting into power began to regulate "the prices of all rural products. . . . The determination of the major agricultural prices through free competition was terminated." Here is what Father Coughlin has to say about farm prices:

Any financial or economic system which does not guarantee the cost of production plus a fair profit is an unsound economic system.

The Nazi Party's 25-point program demanded "the ruthless prosecution of those whose activities are injurious to the common interest." Father Coughlin says:

The control of private property for the public good should be an integral part of this program. . . . The public good . . . demands that they who own factories may not operate them to the detriment of the public good, nor may owners operate them on the principle of production for profit only.

The Nazis demanded that all monopolies be socialized. Later, this demand was "conveniently forgotten," Dr. Schuman has reported. Father Coughlin says:

Certain public resources should be nationalized, in the sense that either Federal or State Governments may develop transportation, power, and light, through the agency of politically free corporations, but not in the sense that Federal or State Governments should monopolize public utilities to the exclusion of private corporations.

The Nazis said that private ownership should be "placed under State protection," according to Dr. Schuman. Father Coughlin says:

Private ownership of property should not only be guaranteed but should be cultivated by the Government.

The Nazi Party's 25-point program said: "The activities of the individual may not clash with the interests of the whole, but must proceed within the frame of the community and be for the general good." Says Father Coughlin:

In all, however, social justice demands class cooperation and is opposed to class conflict. It is predicated upon the general principle that there can be no prosperity for one class in America unless there is prosperity for all classes.

What Does It Mean?

The outstanding characteristic of Father Coughlin's program is that, like the Nazi program, *it can mean anything*. One could easily point out the Glittering Generalities in Father Coughlin's speech. However, the program itself seems little more than one big generality. It sounds radical. Father Coughlin has called it radical. Yet, the radicalism evaporates under analysis. Indeed, many of the points themselves, and especially the points that Father Coughlin is most insistent upon, evaporate, too.

For example, what does Father Coughlin mean when he says that "certain public resources should be nationalized, in the sense that either Federal or State Governments may develop transportation, power, and light . . . but not in the sense that Federal or State Governments should monopolize public utilities to the exclusion of private corporations"? Is this not exactly the situation that exists today? What is T. V. A. if not an example of Government ownership without the "exclusion of private corporations"?

Again, when Father Coughlin says that private industry "must be controlled for the common good," isn't he just stating platitudes? Haven't the people of the United States long recognized the necessity for controlling industry "for the common good"? How else can we explain the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, the Clayton Act, the Federal Reserve Act, the Securities and Exchange Act, the Wages and Hours Law, and hundreds of similar laws? The generality that Father Coughlin utters is supported by everybody. Where people differ is over the question: *how* shall industry be regulated? Father Coughlin gives no specific answer.

Father Coughlin's demand for cooperation

as opposed to conflict is another Glittering Generality, for it poses the question: *how* shall conflict be eliminated; *how* shall cooperation be achieved? The Nazis and fascists have their answer: force, the ruthless suppression of all differences. Is this what Father Coughlin wants? He does not say. However, significant in his program is the lack of any mention of civil rights.

It should be remembered, moreover, that it allegedly was to eliminate conflict and to achieve cooperation that both Germany and Italy eliminated the party system, destroying every political group but the one in power. More than one party made for conflict, said the Nazis and fascists; it made for bickering, class hatred, and indecision. Similarly, cooperation was the excuse given for destroying the independent labor unions in Germany and Italy. And in Germany it has been the excuse for the drive to put the Catholic and Protestant churches under the domination of the State.

In all, Father Coughlin's program has fourteen points. Of those which have not already been mentioned, several are devoted to money reform. On this question, too, Father Coughlin is rather vague, however. From what he says, he may either be advocating inflation or else the "commodity dollar." He says that his platform "incorporates . . . the principle that Congress shall coin and regulate the value of money . . ." As Father Coughlin must be aware, the Constitution of the United States has always read: "The Congress shall have the power . . . To coin money, regulate the value thereof . . ."

What Newspapermen Say

Mr. Swing has said:¹⁷

That Father Coughlin should not be explicit about his intentions is in keeping with his mentality. He is not the explicit kind of person. The reporters in Detroit, for whom his Sunday discourses are a recurring chore, complain that while he sounds convincing over the air he does not often use the factual material that makes it possible to write a readable story. He will start many a quotable affirmation, and then add a few words which make one wonder what it is all about. . . .

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

As a rule he sticks to rhetoric and remains incomprehensible. . . .

After reading and hearing many of his speeches I am struck by their technical similarity to those of Hitler. These, too, are vague and emotional. Carefully analyzed they do not read as radical as they sound. Like Hitler's, the priest's speeches tap the underlying prejudices of listeners. Hitler for years played skillfully on the resentment against the Versailles treaty and against social conditions. Coughlin plays on the widespread animosity toward the bankers and the yearning for social justice.

Does Father Coughlin aspire to become "the American Hitler"? Nobody but Father Coughlin himself can say. Certainly the man is ambitious. He admits that. He likewise is ruthless. "If I threw away and renounced my faith, I would surround myself with the most adroit highjackers, learn every trick of the highest banking and stock manipulations, avail myself of the laws under which to hide my own crimes, create a smokescreen to throw into the eyes of men, and—believe me—I would become the world's champion crook," he once wrote. The Constitution of the United States bars him from ever becoming President: he was not born in the United States, and there is doubt about his citizenship. Lack of citizenship didn't prevent Adolf Hitler from becoming ruler of Germany, however. Adolf Hitler simply tore up the German constitution, and wrote another more to his liking.

His Catholicism might stand in the way of his ambition, for, in the past, anti-Semitic movements have usually given birth to anti-Catholicism in the United States. "The Ku Klux Klan of recent days started out to be an anti-Jewish organization . . . but in its full flowering, when it had millions of members, it was not so much anti-Jewish or anti-Negro as it was anti-Catholic," the *Louisville Courier-Journal* has said.

In the final analysis, however, the only barrier will be the American people, their love of liberty, and their ability to solve their own problems by democratic methods. The Germans didn't question, they didn't analyze, they followed blindly. Whether that will happen in the United States is for the people of the United States to answer.

Propaganda Analysis Worksheet

THE theme of the current PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS bulletin: the story of Father Coughlin is the story of America in depression. His story is, moreover, a case study of *why* propaganda works, *how* propaganda works, *for whom* propaganda works, *whom* propaganda works against, and *who* works propaganda. Re-read the bulletin. Seek out the questions implied above in your group study of the propaganda phenomenon that is the Reverend Father Charles E. Coughlin. In the course of your critical inquiry, remember:

It is a mistake to regard utterances by Father Coughlin and his *Social Justice* colleagues as mere exercises in logic or appeals to reason. Father Coughlin's speeches, in very much the same way as Hitler's, are part of his campaigns; they are used for definite strategic purposes. (Ask: What are these purposes?) In order to understand what Father Coughlin *intends*, it is necessary, not to analyze his apparent meaning, but to see *what effect* he is trying to produce and *how* he goes about the task of doing it.¹ (Ask: In what ways is Father Coughlin trying to get his followers to think and to act? Would they act in the way he desires if they were more fully informed? If not, why not? If so, why so?)

Inquiry into the economic, political, social, and psychological conditions in America which have produced a Father Coughlin, his 14-point program, and his three-and-a-half million regular radio listeners. Such study will provide needed basic understandings concerning the nature of fascism. Such understandings as these are essential if we are to weigh critically the forces which create and sustain fascism. Without these understandings people are all too likely to think and to speak of fascism as if it were a mystical force—a kind of Black Knight-in-Armor, riding throughout the world and spreading terror and destruction in his wake.²

Fascism is no Black Knight. In our study of

the rise and development of fascism in Germany (May, 1938 issue of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS) we traced the growth of National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazi) propaganda. We saw these propagandas and fascism take root and flourish in the economic breakdown and humiliation of post-war Germany. We saw how similar forces in Italy led to the entrenchment of fascism in that country. (Ask: What conditions in America today are favorable to the effective planting and growth of fascism in the United States? In this connection, re-consider the momentum given to Father Coughlin's career by depression conditions.)

A background of precise and detailed knowledge of the rise of fascism in Germany, Italy, and Spain should provide useful signposts in approaching the American scene, in much the same way as a knowledge of anatomy tells a doctor where to look for evidence of infection. In addition to knowledge of the economic and social conditions which breed fascism, exact knowledge of the kinds of men who originated and developed and financed fascist movements in these countries³ may provide clues and understandings to American personalities, such as Huey Long, Father Coughlin, Major General Van Horn Moseley, Gerald Winrod, George Deatherage, George W. Christians, Fritz Kuhn, and others.

In addition to projects suggested by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis in the foregoing paragraphs, the following detailed research and discussion activity is recommended to co-operating adult and school study groups in the hope that they may work with the Institute in obtaining a clearer picture of "potential recruiting grounds for fascism" in America:

GROUP WORK PROJECT

Fascist Recruiting Grounds

It is clear, even from reading the daily press,

¹ Note To Group Leaders: Virtually all propagandists use the same techniques, the same propaganda devices—irrespective of the ends they may wish to achieve. In considering the devices used by Father Coughlin, whose propaganda has come to many to mean the fascist pattern of propaganda, we should consider also the use of the same propaganda devices by the communists. See the Worksheets of the PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS bulletins for January, 1939 and for March, 1939.

² Thinking in pictures presents the danger that we may lose sight altogether of the particular instances and conditions which give abstract thoughts meaning. See "Tabloid Thinking" in the *Group Leader's Guide to Propaganda Analysis*; and "Vagueness and Related Evils," Chapter 10, *How To Think Straight*, Robert H. Thouless. Simon & Schuster, N. Y., 1938.

³ See suggested reading references given in May, 1938 and January, 1939 issues of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS.

that fascist-minded groups in this country are beginning to co-operate more and more, and to coalesce.⁴ We shall, therefore, want to obtain a clear picture of them: the individuals who make up these groups; their programs and propaganda appeals; their connections with other groupings of the population, such as business organizations, "patriotic" societies, peace organizations, churches, and schools.

In addition, we shall want to consider the possibility of the appearance and rise of an outstanding personality which might bring about a coalescence of these groups, as well as the cohesion of factors, forces and conditions within our country which offer potentially ready soil for fascism.⁵ Many Americans fear that "a leader" may arise—as Huey Long did in Louisiana—who could coordinate and galvanize the many fascist blocs of opinion in this country, both of the indigenous and the "imported" variety.

Center group discussion and research activities upon the following inquiries into American life:⁶

- (1) *Historically, what anti-democratic tendencies have cropped out from time to time in the American scene? Cite specific incidents in your own community, in your State, in the nation.*

Examples: Lynching; mob violence and mob rule; legislation impairing freedom of speech, press, radio, assemblage; use of police and militia in labor disputes; court injunctions impairing civil liberties.

- (2) *Institutionally, what ways of doing things have we in the United States that may have fascist potentialities? Again, survey your own city, county, and state, as well as the nation.*

Examples: Company town; company union; advertising methods; monopoly of propagandas; "fake" consumer organizations and farmer co-operatives.

- (3) *Sectionally, what animosities are there which could be (or which are) exploited by*

a fascist organization or by a fascist movement?

Examples: Anti-Wall Street feeling; anti-New Deal feeling; anti-Yankee feeling in the South; anti-Eastern feeling in the Middle West.

- (4) *Racially, what hidden or openly expressed prejudices are there which could be manipulated by fascist propagandas of hatred? In this connection group members should keep in mind the importance of looking at themselves, at their own region, as well as at other sections of the United States.*

Examples: Feelings of prejudice against such minority groups as the Irish, the Mexicans, the Negroes, the Jews, the English, the Germans, the Catholics, certain denominations of the Protestant church, "foreigners."

- (5) *Economically, what sections or regions of the United States have in them conditions which have made for fascism in Germany and in Italy? (Look at your own region.)*

Examples: Number and nature of unemployed; number of people losing small businesses, farms, homes; number of unemployed youth; of migratory workers; sharecroppers; upper class elements antagonistic to the New Deal; lower class elements disappointed by or ignored by the New Deal.⁷

- (6) *Culturally, what loyalties and connections exist which may have in them the seeds for fascist sympathies and allegiances?*

Examples: affiliations of first- and second-generation sons and daughters of immigrants to America from such countries as, Germany, Italy, Russia, Poland, Japan, China, Greece, France, the Balkans; readers of foreign language press; listeners to foreign language radio broadcasts; members of outright fascist organizations, such as the German-American Bund, the Silvershirts; and, members of "cultural" organizations and associations which have ties to countries listed above, especially to Germany, Italy, Spain, and Japan.

Note to Cooperating Individuals and Groups:

Remember, in making your researches and sur-

⁴ See January, 1939 PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS bulletin and suggested reading references.

⁵ In discussion of these factors, draw upon the group's knowledge of how fascism grew in such countries as Germany and Italy.

⁶ Suggested Procedures: Break up the study group into research committees, which will later report to the group as a whole. Recommendations for specific inquiry in this

project are especially adaptable to the high school or college social studies, history or civics classrooms, and to study programs and work conferences of many adult organizations, such as those of civic service clubs, women's organizations, and the like.

⁷ See bibliography references concerning similar elements exploited by the Nazis in Germany of the Social Democratic Republic.

veys that you yourself may be dealing in generalizations, and that generalizations are rough-and-ready yardsticks to be used with care—that they are no substitute for precise information. Remember, too, that because individuals may belong to certain groups is no reason to believe that *all* individuals react or respond in predictable ways—that is, a man may belong to a second generation German family, be a member of a German cultural musical society, be a dispossessed wheat farmer, and still remain outside the influence of Nazi propaganda or of “home grown” fascist propagandas.

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The Institute does not have all the answers: it lays no claim to infallibility. It will try to be scientific, objective, and accurate. If it makes mistakes, it will acknowledge them. It asks those who receive its letters to check its work.

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Propaganda Analysis

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Britain Woos America

ONLY three weeks after Neville Chamberlain returned from Munich, bringing with him (so *The Times* of London said) the olive branch of peace, his Government was getting ready for another war. Chronologically, this is what Neville Chamberlain did in those short post-Munich weeks: first, he asked the House of Commons to vote him confidence, (the vote was overwhelming, 366 to 144); second, he averted strife in the Conservative Party by postponing the annual Party Conference; third, his Government announced that King George VI and Queen Elizabeth would visit Canada and the United States in the spring; fourth, the volunteer Territorial Army was shaken up and drastically reorganized; and fifth, plans were set afoot to organize an industrial defense corps, enlisting all workers between the ages of 38 and 50.

One week later, George VI announced the appointment of his brother, the Duke of Kent, as Governor General of Australia. The same week, after telling Parliament that air-raid precautions had broken down almost completely during the September crisis, the Chamberlain Government revealed that it was taking steps to strengthen the defenses in the event of future trouble.

All this is history, but history worth recalling now that George VI and Queen Elizabeth have finally arrived in the United States. Much water has passed under the international bridge since Munich: Germany has taken over Czechoslovakia; Italy has taken over Albania; the United Kingdom, for the first time in history, is conscripting men in time of peace; and, most

important of all, perhaps, Britain and France are wooing Russia again. Certainly war is not inevitable. And it may be that war in the near future is not even probable. However, the *possibility* of another World War still remains. And there can be little doubt that Britain, while it may hope for peace, is nevertheless preparing for that war—if and when it comes.

Plans for the royal visit were announced just after Munich (when Britain, according to Conservative Party spokesmen, was virtually defenseless), and just before the revamping of the Territorial Army, first step in Britain's new program of military, economic, and political rearmament. Chronologically, at least, all three events are linked. But, whether that link means anything, or whether the long arm of coincidence has again been reaching into the international picture to obscure the view—well that's another story.

If you believe Alfred Duff Cooper, the one-two-three relationship between Munich, the royal visit, and rearmament was just coincidence. Mr. Cooper, who resigned as Britain's First Lord of the Admiralty last autumn in protest against the Government's policy of appeasement, insists that fatigue, not propaganda, was responsible for the royal visit. His story, as told in the *New York Herald Tribune* of May 17, is this: George VI and Queen Elizabeth were tired. Naturally, they had been working hard during the Munich crisis, and now that it was over, they wanted to rest. They asked the Cabinet for permission to vacation in Canada; the Cabinet said yes. But, how could anybody visit Canada without visiting the United States, as

well? Canada without the United States, wrote Mr. Cooper, is like *Hamlet* without the Melancholy Dane.

If you believe Mr. Cooper, George VI came here with his Queen, Elizabeth, to rest.

Give Mr. Cooper the benefit of the doubt, and grant that perhaps there is some truth in what he says (even though newspaper stories of the past few weeks agree that George VI and Queen Elizabeth have been going through what is probably the most gruelling experience of their lives). Grant that it wasn't propaganda which brought the King and Queen to America. Nevertheless, when they came, propaganda came with them. Nor will it leave when they do.

For acts of royalty are inevitably propaganda, and this is especially true of British royalty, which, by tradition and law, written and unwritten, is the symbol—the propaganda symbol, if you will—that holds the Empire together. King George VI is the flag, and the Cross. (The King, it must be remembered, is Defender of the Faith.) King George VI is the Empire.

So, whether by design or not, the royal visit is propaganda. As such it fits into Britain's defense picture. But how does it fit? And why?

Propaganda and War

Propaganda alone will not win the next war; but it will help. Of this, all statesmen are convinced. Day by day, since 1914, propaganda has become more and more important to government, and especially in time of war. No sooner did we declare war against Germany in 1917, for example, than President Wilson appointed George Creel to organize the Committee on Public Information; and on the Committee he put the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of State. Lord Northcliffe's work in the British Ministry of Propaganda helped to crack German resistance, not alone in the front-line trenches but also behind the lines. When the Italian armies went into Ethiopia, with them went specially trained propaganda experts, who could speak English, French, and German, and had first-hand acquaintance with American, French, and British newspaper methods.

In Germany, where the war-machine is most highly developed, and where all industry already is organized for war, the leading figure, next to Adolf Hitler and Field Marshall Hermann Goering, is Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda and Public En-

lightenment. And rightly so, for propaganda has been Germany's advance guard in her *Drang nach Osten*. If Germany walked into Austria, Sudetenland, and Czecho-slovakia without resistance, it was partly because her propaganda had undermined resistance first.

Britain knows this only too well. It cannot have been entirely by accident that *Propaganda in the Next War*, by Captain Sidney Rogerson, is third in the series of books on "The Next War," edited by Captain Lidell Hart, Britain's foremost writer on military affairs. First in the series is *Sea Power in the Next War*: Britain's strength lies in her control of the seas. Second is *Air Power in the Next War*: air power is considered the "great imponderable." Then comes *Propaganda in the Next War*. The next war, says Captain Rogerson, "will greatly increase the importance of propaganda, especially among the citizens of the home front, not only to stiffen their morale against the threat from the air, but to instruct them in the technique for meeting it."

Already Britain has begun to build up her propaganda armaments, though in much the same leisurely fashion in which she is building up her military armaments. For years, German and Italian radio stations have been whipping up Egypt and the Near East with propaganda-broadcasts in Arabic. In self defense, Britain last year inaugurated Arabic-language broadcasts, too. Since the Munich crisis, the short-wave station at Daventry has been sending out news-broadcasts in German, broadcasts, which are causing so much trouble for the Nazi Government that when Adolf Hitler delivered his Wilhelmshaven address, every newspaper in Germany is reported to have reprinted the penalties for repeating or publishing them.

Moreover, there is talk in Britain of reviving the old Ministry of Propaganda. "We need it to fill a glaring gap in our defence system," noted Commander Stephen King-Hall's news-letter recently.

If war comes, Britain's propagandists will have to fight on four different fronts. At home they will have to bolster morale, prod the people into hatred of the enemy, keep them from cracking as casualties mount and terrifying air-raids blast homes and factories to debris. Behind the enemy lines, they will fight to destroy morale. Abroad, in the colonies and in the Dominions, they will fight to put down unrest,

wipe out disloyalty to King and Mother Country. In Egypt, in Palestine, throughout India, and even in some of the Dominions, there are those who hate British rule. For years, they have been agitating to shake it off. If Britain goes to war, will not these malcontents seize their opportunity to revolt?

The United States will be the fourth great propaganda battleground, as indeed will be all the neutral countries. Britain might have been able to defeat Germany in 1918 even if the United States had not entered the war. But if Britain could not have borrowed money here, if Britain could not have bought food and munitions, the peace treaty might have been made at Berlin, not Versailles. It may be that Britain and her allies will have an easier time in the next war than in the last. Nevertheless, they will feel infinitely more confident if they have what Captain Rogerson calls our "benevolent neutrality." At the very least, the British would probably like the United States to repeal the Johnson Act, to amend—if not repeal—the Neutrality Act. Britain would like to borrow from us, and to buy munitions from us, and it can do neither if those acts remain in force.

Unrest in Canada

To Americans, what the British propagandists do about their own people, and what they do about the enemy, is perhaps of little direct concern. But the Empire is next door in Canada. And, when the British get to worrying about the neutral countries, they move right into our parlor and make themselves at home. Neutrals . . . that includes the United States.

What, precisely, was the problem that British propagandists faced in Canada before the royal visit?

Last February, Mayor Camillien Houde, of Montreal, delivered an outburst against the British, and thereby gave the answer. "If war comes," he said, "and if Italy is on one side and England on the other, the sympathy of the French Canadians in Quebec will be on the side of Italy. Remember that the great majority of French Canadians are Roman Catholics, and that the Pope is in Rome. We French Canadians are Normans, not Latins, but we have become Latinized over a period of years. The French Canadians are Fascists by blood, but not by name. The Latins have always been in favor of dictators."

And Mayor Houde added: "They say I'm

crazy. Well, just let war come and we'll see who's crazy!"

Naturally, the British couldn't afford to wait. The party that put Mayor Houde into office—the Union Nationale—is truly not fascist in name, but it definitely is fascist in character. Under its domination the Province of Quebec has become more anti-democratic, more anti-liberal than any other government in North America. Free press, free speech, and free assembly are virtually non-existent. Moreover, the Union Nationale is closely allied with the Christian National Socialist Party of Canada and the Canadian Union of Fascists, which are sympathetic to Nazi Germany, and frankly so.

But, if there was disloyalty among French-speaking Canadians, could those of British descent be relied upon? British statesmen weren't sure. On September 15, just before Munich, Lord Beaverbrook's *Daily Express* said editorially: "Adversity grows good fruits. Today New Zealand promises all her support. Yesterday it was Australia. Tomorrow it will be Canada." Lord Beaverbrook was over-optimistic. Canada refused to commit herself, and Britain capitulated to Hitler. Later, British officials told the *Toronto Globe and Mail*: "Britain would not have been forced to concede so much to Germany if Chamberlain had been able to tell Hitler that the Empire was behind him."

Hence the need for British propagandists to "reconquer the Dominion."

The King and Queen have done their part. The crowds, the cheering, the reception and speeches, the shouts of "God save the King!" all have served to bring the Dominion closer to Britain. Wrote F. Raymond Daniell, of the *New York Times*, on May 27: "To a Canada, which is spiritually, if not politically, close to the United States, the visit of the King and Queen has brought a feeling of unity with the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth of Nations spread all over the globe."

"... The royal visit," said Mr. Daniell, "has brought a fighting spirit of loyalty here. As the royal party progresses across the continent the militant nationalist temperature seems to rise. The King and Queen . . . have recaptured (the Dominion) already. . . . From now on, hands across the sea probably will be a little more than a mere platitude of after-dinner speakers."

Similarly, Webb Miller, of the *United Press*, in his dispatch of June 5, remarked on the "firm

reintegration of Canada with the British commonwealth of nations," and said: "Canada's demonstration of loyalty has tended to indicate that she would be with England in case of a conflict in Europe."

In the United States, the visit of the King and Queen also will serve to rekindle the spirit of kinship, the spirit of hands-across-the-sea. And in that way, it again will serve Britain's interests. For Britain cannot hope to gain America's support in war, or even her benevolent neutrality, unless she can first convince the American people that Britain's interests are their interests. As H. C. Peterson has pointed out in his recent study, *Propaganda for War*, "The attempt to identify the interests and ideals of the United States with those of England dominated all British propaganda" in 1914. It will again, when the second World War begins. If Americans feel warmly toward England, if the spirit of hands-across-the-sea is strong, British propagandists will naturally find it that much easier to get the idea of identity of interest across.

If you asked the British propagandist in 1914 or 1915 why Britain's interests were identical with America's, he probably would have answered that Britain and America were "sister democracies." Says Peterson: "This later developed into the argument of democracy versus autocracy. Eventually, the idea became current that for an American to be pro-Ally was patriotic and for him to be pro-German was anti-American. In other words the British captured the American flag and waved it in front of themselves." So, the American people finally went to war "to save the world for democracy."

For American Consumption

In the next war again British propagandists will probably try to prove identity of interest by talking about democracy. At least, that is what Captain Rogerson, an ex-British propagandist himself, believes. In *Propaganda in the Next War*, he writes:

In general, the situation in the United States is more favourable to Great Britain than in 1914, in that the obvious centres of infection have been removed; but less favourable in that we have temporarily at any rate lost caste as a "democratic" State because of the propaganda which represents us as trucking to or at least having truck with "dictators." Though we are not unfavourably placed, we shall require to do much propaganda to keep the United States benevolently neutral. To persuade her to take

our part will be much more difficult, so difficult as to be unlikely to succeed. . . . The position will naturally be considerably eased if Japan were involved and this might and probably would bring America in without further ado. At any rate, it would be a natural and obvious object of our propagandists to achieve this, just as during the Great War they succeeded in embroiling the United States with Germany.

Fortunately with America our propaganda is on firm ground. We can be entirely sincere as our main plank will be the old democratic one. We must clearly enunciate our belief in the democratic form of government and our firm resolve to adhere to it.

During his visit to Canada and the United States the King has delivered more speeches than he ordinarily does in any ten or twelve months. Naturally enough, they have almost invariably touched upon democracy, and upon the link between the democracies of North America and British democracy. On May 24, speaking at Winnipeg, he said that Europe looks to America for hope and guidance, and denounced Nazi race doctrines as "dangerous and disruptive." It would, of course, be unjust to assume that Britain's Government (which prepares the King's addresses) is guilty of insincerity. Nevertheless, the speeches have fitted into Britain's traditional pattern of propaganda—sister democracies, hands-across-the-sea.

Also fitting into this pattern is Britain's exhibit at the New York World's Fair. Center of the exhibit is the Magna Charta, Britain's famous charter of liberties, from which America's liberties are in part derived. Nearby is George Washington's family tree, emphasizing that the "Father of Our Country" was of British stock.

Captain Rogerson urges in his study that Britain send over to America well-known lecturers, business men, statesmen, and writers "to put our point of view over the dinner table." This may well be the next step in British propaganda. In 1914, says H. D. Lasswell in his *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, "It was the social lobby, the personal conversation, and the casual brush which forged the strongest chain between America and Britain." Personal, friendly contact did far more than high-powered propaganda to foster the spirit of kinship between the "sister democracies."

Now the interests of the United States may actually be identical with Britain's. Or they may not. But the fact that George Washington's

family came here from England, or that Lord Lothian, Britain's new ambassador, is charming and gracious, doesn't prove it, one way or the other. Photographs of the King and Queen eating hot dogs at Hyde Park will no doubt serve to make them more popular in the United States; but, logically, at least, there is little connection between eating hot dogs and foreign policy. On the other hand, it should not be concluded that Britain wants our friendship only to "put something over." The United States is working hard, at present, to gain the friendship of South America. It hardly follows that our Government wants "to put something over." Perhaps it does. And perhaps Britain does, too. But only study of the facts can decide that.

What Others Think

In preparing this special issue of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, the Institute asked several leading newspapermen for their ideas about the propaganda-implications of the royal visit. As might have been expected, not all of them saw eye to eye with the directors of the Institute, and some of them were in almost complete disagreement. Several of these opinions follows:

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST: "The visit of the King and Queen of England to the United States can hardly be called propaganda. It would be more properly termed diplomacy. And diplomacy of a very agreeable kind. Pleasant relations with England are desirable. In fact, pleasant relations with foreign powers generally are desirable. United States can surely maintain agreeable relations with friendly powers without being influenced to its disadvantage. I think our people can be courteous and kindly and independent, too, unless we are mistaken about being a free and independent people."

RAYMOND CLAPPER: "In broader sense royal visit is propaganda to the end of building up good will and friendliness which might be useful to England in time of need. All students of early war years will recall that at one period England was trespassing upon our rights but sympathy in Government here and among people generally was on Allied side so that we took charitable attitude toward England's infringements on our rights but cracked down on Germany's infringements. I don't know what England expects from United States but least she can shoot for would be 'benevolent neutrality' growing out of our good will and sympathy.

That would mean she would get the breaks in obtaining supplies and in blockade operations."

JAY FRANKLIN: "Answer is yes and no. Visit is not propaganda in any immediate sense. As a gesture of courtesy it is calculated to strengthen a sense of solidarity between America and the British Empire, thus serving very substantial economic as well as political relationships on both sides."

LELAND STOWE: "Any official royal visit to any country is inevitably propaganda, the only question being for what? British monarch's American tour was announced October 8th, only nine days after Munich. This seems to me revelatory enough. Of course, Americans as well as Canadians are being courted by Britain as allies, whether active or passive, in the event of war."

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The Institute does not have all the answers: it lays no claim to infallibility. It will try to be scientific, objective, and accurate. If it makes mistakes, it will acknowledge them. It asks those who receive its letters to check its work.

Propaganda Analysis Work Sheet

SYMBOLIC of the ties — historical, cultural, political—which bind America and England is a venerable document which Britain has sent to the World's Fair. This is the famous Magna Charta, signed by King John in 1215 as the first written guarantee of civil liberty for his people and their descendants. The Magna Charta dramatizes the common beginnings of the two great "democracies" of the world; it emphasizes as words could not do the time-forged link between England and America.

More patently propagandistic is the British exhibit at the World's Fair of George Washington's family tree which, of course, traces his English genealogy. These two documents remind Americans that the United States has strong cultural, genealogical, and historical ties with England. As propaganda symbols they have great power. We have great respect and reverence for the Magna Charta, for George Washington. When Britain uses these symbols she attempts to transfer¹ to her foreign policy the same respect and reverence we have for the Magna Charta, for George Washington.

There are many differences of opinion concerning what is and what is not propaganda. Most people, however, will agree that public opinion is controlled by significant symbols—and that the symbol is a short circuit to thought. When Britain uses the Magna Charta or George Washington's family tree to gain this country's support of her foreign policy she says, in effect:

1. The people of England and of the United States have a common language.
2. Their basic civil liberties have common origins.
3. For the most part, the peoples of both countries have common genealogical roots.

Therefore, all other interests, including economic and political, of the peoples of Britain and of the United States are the same.

This is the familiar form of argument of the propagandist: Since Britain and America are "cousins" we have, therefore, the same business interests and ideals. Group leaders may wish

¹ "Transfer" is a device by which the propagandist carries over the authority, sanction, and prestige of something we respect and revere to something he would have us accept." PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS. Volume 1, Number 2. November, 1937.

to use this example of faulty reasoning as a springboard to study of the principles and practices of reasoning logically to a conclusion.²

Even more colorful than the Magna Charta and the family tree are the human ambassadors whom Britain has sent to America. As the current issue of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS points out, the visit of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth "will serve to rekindle the spirit of kinship, the spirit of hands-across-the-sea." The visit of Britain's King and Queen, whose almost every word and action in Canada and in America are recorded by press and newsreel, will contribute to the 1917 picture of Britain and the United States as "sister democracies" with identical interests and ideals.³

Let us ask:

Does an "identity of interest and ideals" between Britain and the United States actually exist? Does America's foreign policy as it concerns Great Britain rest upon common interests and similarities of the two nations? Or, does America's policy towards Britain flow from ties of sentiment and tradition, such as those of common language, folkways, and history?

How does Britain attempt to get America to believe that an "identity of interest and ideals" exists between the two countries? Wherein lies the effectiveness of British persuasion?

Individuals and groups may wish to carry on further inquiry into the propaganda implications of the King's and the Queen's visit to America. The following group work projects deal with the matter in hand:

GROUP DISCUSSION

How Symbols are Used

Symbols stir emotions. The very sight of such symbols as the flag of our nation or the cross of the Christian Church arouse a whole complex of feelings in us. On the other hand the sight of

² See Worksheet and reading references of the April, 1939, issue of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS.

³ As Captain Rogerson writes in *Propaganda in the Next War*, "... the British monarchy is a propaganda institution, and a very successful one, too." King George and Queen Elizabeth are the human emblems of Great Britain. They are symbols of the Empire "on which the sun never sets" in precisely the same way the lion is considered the symbol of courage; white, the symbol of purity; the Cross, the symbol of the Church; and the olive branch, the symbol of peace.

such symbols as a coiled serpent or the ugly god Mars arouse feelings of repulsion. We see, then, that symbols may be used both for and against persons, programs, and ideas. The technique is an easy one for propagandists. They take a "good" symbol and transfer its sanction to something they would have people accept without further thought; or, they take a "bad" symbol and transfer its stigmata to something they would have people reject without further thought.

Cartoonists are master manipulators of symbols. With a few deft strokes they sketch in "good" and "bad" symbols, identifying them with the persons, programs, or ideas which they wish great numbers of people to accept or to reject.

Group discussion on the use of symbols will be enriched if members bring to it such graphic illustrations as:

1. Cartoonists' versions of the roles of King George and Queen Elizabeth in shaping America's foreign policy.
2. Newsreel portrayals of the "democratic" actions of the King and Queen.
3. Newspaper and magazine accounts of the efforts of the King and Queen to stimulate British-American trade.
4. Examples of symbols used by artists and writers concerning questions of "peace and war"; of foreign policy; or of domestic problems, such as unemployment relief budgets or drouth prevention programs. Note how American cartoonists use Uncle Sam as a symbol to transfer approval or disapproval to policies, principles, events, and situations.

In discussing the use and effects of symbols upon the group's thinking concerning various issues, raise such questions as: What does the user of the symbol wish me to believe? Does what he wish me to believe reconcile with as many of the pertinent facts as I can determine?

GROUP WORK PROJECT *Britain's Stake in America*

"... a nation's foreign policy is usually determined by its natural resources, its social order, its population density, its technical equipment, and its geographic position. But the United States, alone among the great powers, bases its foreign policy on an entirely different and quite intangible factor. Ancestral ties of language, tradition, and blood exercise

such an attraction upon the American ruling class that it adapts its own selfish interests—not to mention the interests of the country as a whole—to the needs and desires of the British Foreign Office." (Quincy Howe. *England Expects Every American To Do His Duty*. Simon and Schuster, N. Y., 1937. pp. 48.)

For *one side* of the questions, "Does an identity of interest and ideals between Britain and the United States actually exist?" individuals and groups will want to read Mr. Howe's treatise on Britain's stake in America. He deals provocatively with such pertinent questions as:

1. The geographic dependency of Britain upon America. To protect her holdings in the Pacific area—Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and the East Indies—Britain cannot allow a hostile power to dominate the Pacific, Mr. Howe contends.
2. The United States' "historic pro-British line" and reasons for it.
3. England's understanding of how the people of the United States think and act. The part that England played in getting the United States into the World War.⁴ "The American view of Europe was normally and unavoidably colored very deeply by the British attitude." "... Who could doubt the liberalism, the enlightened purposes, and the high public ethics of the British constitutional monarchy?"
4. Why British World War propaganda was more effective with the United States than was Germany's propaganda, which proved a boomerang to Germany. See reading references in footnote 4.
5. Read and discuss *in conjunction* the following discussions of the astuteness of British propaganda:

(a) Lasswell's *Propaganda Technique in the World War*. Chapter 8, "Conditions and Methods of Propaganda: A Summary," pp. 185-213. Propaganda success "it may be reiterated depends upon the astute use of propaganda means (organizations, suggestions, devices) under favorable conditions."

(b) Howe's *England Expects Every American To Do His Duty*. Chapter 2, "The British Network," pp. 47-75. Leading American citizens "simply lend themselves to the (British) cause

⁴Other recommended reading references: Millis, Walter. *The Road to War*. Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1935; Lasswell, Harold D., *Propaganda Techniques in the World War*. Peter Smith, New York, 1938, Rev. Ed.

as they lend themselves to the cause of their favorite charity, their favorite political party, or their chosen religion."

Mr. Howe heads a list of "British Network" organizations in America with The English Speaking Union, "spearhead of England's cultural drive." The English Speaking Union, born in 1917, has directors, he says, (financiers, statesmen, churchmen, journalists, educators, lawyers, industrialists, social leaders) who hold inter-locking directorships in such organizations as, the League of Nations Association, Foreign Policy Association, Council on Foreign Relations.

Read and discuss Mr. Howe's exposition of "The British Network" activities in America. Study the positions taken on foreign policy by the organizations which he names. Do the facts as you find them check with his contentions?

(c) Peterson's *Propaganda For War*. Discussion of how Britain used statesmen, authors, and celebrities to convert American statesmen, authors, and celebrities (prominent university presidents, ministers, and educators) and how these latter then did Britain's main propaganda job in America. (See Rogerson's *Propaganda In The Next War* for use of similar technique in the "next war.")

6. "It would be difficult to name any two countries that have fewer common interests or more points of difference than Great Britain and the United States," Quincy Howe declares (pp. 81).

Discuss the lack—or existence of—common interests and points of difference between America and Britain. Careful reading of pp. 81-90 in *England Expects Every American To Do His Duty* should provoke further reading and research on this subject, as well as lively discussion in the group.

7. "It is useless to criticize Great Britain for the propaganda—for spreading falsehoods and exaggerated interpretations of their own and

their enemy's actions. Locked in a life-and-death struggle it was only natural that she should have vilified her enemy and have done everything in her power to gain help. The United States would do the same thing. Criticism can only be directed against America's leaders for failing to see that the propaganda arguments were largely irrelevant and that the causes for Europe's troubles were not given in these arguments." (Peterson. *Propaganda For War*. p. 327.)

In some communities it may be possible for members of study groups to examine library files of newspapers for the period of 1914-1917 and to use the articles therein to check the statements of Howe, Lasswell, and Peterson.

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Propaganda Analysis

A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

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Spain: A Case Study

THE civil war that was supposed to last ten days—or two weeks at the most—is now over in Spain, almost three years from that muggy July morning in 1936 when the garrisons in Salamanca, Malaga, Toledo, and Madrid rose suddenly against the government. Here and there—in Salamanca and Seville—the *coup d'etat* came off as planned; but elsewhere—in Valencia and Madrid, for instance—the Spanish people, some of them unarmed, stormed the barracks, crushed the uprising in rage. Most of the navy stood by the Popular Front government, too: rebel officers were shot down by their men. So the government didn't crack up quite as quickly as the world expected; the civil war dragged on — endlessly, it seemed at times. It was not until March 28, 1939, that Madrid, the Loyalist stronghold, fell; and, even then, Francisco Franco, the rebel generalissimo, waited three weeks to stage his victory march. Today, close to 1,000,000 men, women, and children are dead in Spain, and thousands lie in jail, awaiting death.¹ (Last month, the United Press reported from Hendaye in France that Franco's troops were shooting one prisoner every nine minutes—160 every day.)²

At first, the civil war in Spain was merely an uprising of disgruntled army officers, supported by equally disgruntled land owners and capitalists, by monarchists, and by most of the Catholic

hierarchy. On July 28, ten days after it began, General Franco told Jay Allen, of the *Chicago Tribune* and *London News Chronicle*: "This movement is not fascist. . . ." and he added: "Fascism is ridiculous in Spain, ridiculous. The liberal middle class in Spain is all republican, Masonic, and things like that." (He was then still fighting under the purple, red, and yellow flag of the republic.) As the bloodshed continued, however, General Franco changed his mind, and on April 20, 1937, Nationalist Spain became frankly totalitarian. General Franco proclaimed himself dictator — *El Caudillo* — outlawing all parties but his own, the Traditionalist Spanish Phalanx of Nationalist-Syndicalist Offensive Juntas.

Meanwhile, the civil war had become an ideological war, and, because ideologies are international, an international war, as well. All through Europe, and in the United States, people took sides: behind the Loyalists rallied those who, for one reason or another, were united in their hatred of the fascist governments of Germany and Italy, and who felt that General Franco's defeat would be Fascism's defeat, too. (Among them were many who believed in democracy, and who believed that Spain's Popular Front government was fighting in defense of democracy.) On the other hand, General Franco quickly gained the support of Hitler and Mussolini (if they did not help to plan the revolt); of anti-Communists who called the Popular Front red; of many Catholics who said that it was anti-clerical, anti-Catholic—in fact, atheistic.

So, while civil war raged in Spain, ideological warfare raged in the rest of the world. A war of

¹ See *Inside Europe*, by John Gunther, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1938. Chapter XII, "The Spanish Civil War," briefly and, on the whole, accurately describes the outbreak and the early stages of the revolt.

² On the same day, June 13, however, William Carney, Madrid correspondent of the *New York Times*, put the figure at twenty executions daily.

propaganda, it was; and if leaflets, rallies, books, and pamphlets were the weapons, rather than warplanes, tanks, and guns, the stakes were no less vital: the civil war in Spain could not be won in the newspapers of England, France, and the United States alone, perhaps; but it couldn't be won on the battlefields of Spain alone, either.

What the Loyalists Said

The propaganda of those who upheld the Loyalist cause was simple. The Popular Front government, they said, was the legally-elected, democratically-elected government of Spain; it had the overwhelming support of the people. They admitted that priests and nuns had been killed in Loyalist Spain by the Syndicalists, that churches had been destroyed; but they absolved the government of any responsibility. On the contrary, they said, the government had acted quickly and ruthlessly to stop these outrages, which, they pointed out, took place only after the revolt had begun, and which, they said, were directed only at those members of the clergy who supported Franco. As far as they could see, the charge that Communists and Communist sympathizers controlled the Popular Front was simply nonsensical. There were no Communists — no Socialists, even — in the Popular Front government when the revolt began, they said. And they pointed out that only sixteen Communists were in the *Cortes* of 1936.

The Loyalists charged that General Franco was fighting to establish fascism in Spain, and that he was being aided, therefore, by the fascist powers. In fact, they said, having little popular support, his movement would have collapsed in the first weeks of the war if Germany and Italy had not poured troops, warplanes, tanks, and guns into Nationalist Spain, and if Mussolini's submarines had not destroyed Loyalist shipping.

Propagandists for General Franco told quite another story. The Popular Front government, they said, did not represent the bulk of the Spanish people, even though it won the elections of February, 1936. (Asked if the elections had represented the national will, General Franco told Jay Allen "Elections never do.")³ Nationalist sympathizers maintained further

³ For the position of Nationalist sympathizers on this question, see *Franco*, by Dr. Edward Lodge Curran. International Catholic Truth Society, New York, 1937. Pp. 14, 15.

that Spain had been in chaos under the Popular Front, with the government either unwilling or unable to keep left-wing workers from killing conservatives and priests, and from destroying their property. In fact, if not in law, Spain had no government in 1936, they charged. Seemingly they were convinced that "Popular Front" and "Communist" were synonymous; they pointed out that Largo Caballero, who became premier of Loyalist Spain on September 6, 1936, was called the "Spanish Lenin" by his followers.⁴ To Loyalist charges that General Franco was fascist they made blunt, categorical denials. "The Nationalist Cause is not a fascist cause," wrote Father Curran in his pamphlet-biography of General Franco.⁵ "Franco himself is not a fascist." Similarly, Merwin K. Hart, president of the New York State Economic Council, writing about the future of Nationalist Spain, denies that it will be fascist, although he does say that it will "be authoritarian—whatever that means."⁶ And Mr. Lunn, in *Spain and the Christian Front*, calls Franco's army "democratic."⁷

Explaining the Revolt

A study of pro-Nationalist literature indicates that propagandists for General Franco are not entirely agreed on how the revolt started. Gil Robles, leader of *Accion Popular*, seems to feel that it broke out spontaneously. For months, he writes,⁸ Spain was in chaos, with Communists and leftists simply running wild. Swiftly unrest mounted. Then came the murder by leftists of Calvo Sotelo, leader of the Spanish fascists. And that, he says, was "the spark that set national indignation ablaze." Frederico De Echeverria, likewise, seems to feel that Calvo Sotelo's death was responsible for the revolt.⁹ So, also, do Henri Massis and Robert Brasillach, who have written: "Calvo Sotelo was General Franco's friend. Franco now banishing his last

⁴ See in this connection *Spain and the Christian Front*, by Arnold Lunn. Paulist Press, New York. Pp. 7, 8.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁶ *America—Look at Spain*, by Merwin K. Hart. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York, 1939. See Chapter VII, "The Future."

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁸ *Spain in Chains*, by Gil Robles. The America Press, New York.

⁹ *Spain in Flames*, by Frederico De Echeverria with an introduction by Robert I. Gannon, S.J., president of Fordham University. The Paulist Press, New York, 1937. See especially pps. 26, 27, 28, 29.

scruples decided to act, by force of arms, without any further loss of time."³⁰ And Mr. Hart says: "This [Calvo Sotelo's murder] was the last straw. A movement started in every part of Spain."³¹

On the other hand, General Franco's official biographer, Joaquín Arrarás, tells how carefully the Spanish generals prepared their revolt, almost from the day of the February elections. According to his story, plans for the outbreak were all set days before Calvo Sotelo's death, and that definite orders for an uprising had been circulated as early as April 23.³² Moreover, the Catholic bishops of Spain, in their joint letter on the civil war,³³ make no mention of Calvo Sotelo's death, but charge, instead, that on February 27, 1936, a Communist revolution began in Spain, under direct orders from Moscow, and financed "with extraordinary amounts of money." It was to put down this "Communist revolution," they imply, that General Franco began his march on Madrid. Indeed, Father Talbot, in his introduction to *The Cadets of the Alcazar*, actually speaks of the Nationalist movement as "the counter revolt against the Caballero junta." (This despite the fact that Largo Caballero didn't become premier of Spain until months after the so-called counter revolt had started.)

Propagandists for General Franco at first met charges of German and Italian aid with blanket denials. Later, they did admit that some Italians were in Spain as volunteers—but no Germans. However, they said that General Franco was taking outside help only because the Loyalists had long been getting money, troops, and munitions from the Soviet Union. As Father Joseph F. Thorning, of St. Mary's College wrote, German and Italian help to Franco was "hastily improvised," because "of the fact that Mussolini and Hitler were taken by surprise by the speed and weight of Russian intervention."³⁴

Here is what other Franco propagandists

³⁰ *The Cadets of the Alcazar*, by Henri Massis and Robert Brasillach; foreword by Francis X. Talbot, S.J., editor of *America*. The Paulist Press, New York, 1937. P. 16.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

³² *Francisco Franco*, by Joaquín Arrarás, translated by J. Manuel Espinosa. The Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, 1938. See especially chapters XIX and XX.

³³ *Joint Letter of the Spanish Bishops*. The America Press, New York.

³⁴ *Why the Press Failed on Spain!* by Joseph F. Thorning. International Catholic Truth Society, New York.

have said about the part that Germany and Italy played in the Spanish civil war: The Brooklyn *Tablet*, Catholic weekly, reported on February 11, 1939, that "few Italians" were in Nationalist Spain, and "no Germans." Robert Davis, of Middlebury College, wrote in the New York *Herald Tribune*, of March 18, 1938, that only three divisions of Italians were in Franco's army. They "came as individuals and volunteers," he said. Arnold Lunn, in his book *Spanish Rehearsal*, denies that "units of the regular Italian army are serving in Spain." Ellery Sedgwick, former editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*, asserted in the New York *Times*, of March 13, 1938, that Germany and Italy gave aid to Franco only to "combat . . . material aid" from the Soviet Union. In *The Spanish War and Lying Propaganda*, Dr. Joseph B. Code, of Catholic University, took precisely the same position, writing: "If Russia and France had not gone to the aid of the Madrid forces, the Spanish civil war would have been a purely internal affair and would have ended long before this in a victory for the Nationalists."

How It Affected U. S.

An open letter to members of the Protestant clergy, signed by 175 Catholic priests and laymen, charged:

From the critical days of late July, 1936, the foreign press has been filled with propagandistic misrepresentations emphasizing the help given to the Nationalist cause by the Moors, Italians, and Germans, and has been strangely silent about the help given to the Loyalist cause by the Russians, the French, the dissident Germans, Italians, Czechoslovaks, and even Americans. In the matter of foreign intervention there has been a suppression of truth and the most vehement dissemination of untruths.³⁵

Now, this war of words—for that is what it was—had more than academic interest to Americans. Similarly, to Europeans. For, the outcome of the war in Spain hinged largely on what the United States, England, and France might do about permitting foodstuffs, troops, and munitions to enter both Loyalist and Nationalist Spain. Early in the war, the great powers of Europe proclaimed the doctrine of non-intervention. Their object (so they said) was to keep the civil war from becoming an international war. Soon after, the Congress of the United

³⁵ *Catholics Reply to "Open Letter" on Spain*. The America Press, New York, Pp. 11.

States, at the request of the President, placed an embargo on the shipment of munitions to Spain, and later included this embargo in the amended Neutrality Act of May 1, 1937. Under the original Act, passed before the civil war, the Loyalist government, as the legal, recognized government of Spain, would have been permitted to purchase arms here.

At once, Loyalist sympathizers charged that England and France, by creating non-intervention, and the United States, by drafting the embargo, were actually giving aid to General Franco. They said that Germany and Italy were shipping men and munitions to General Franco in violation of the non-intervention agreement, while the Loyalists—even though recognized at the legitimate government of Spain—were denied the right to buy. So their propaganda was designed to get this unilateral non-intervention pact abolished, and to have the embargo repealed.

Propagandists for General Franco, on the other hand, were opposed to repeal. And especially was this true of Catholic priests and laymen generally in the United States. Even those who remained neutral about the civil war in Spain—the magazine *Commonweal*, for example, or His Eminence George Cardinal Mundelein, of Chicago—fought the repeal of the embargo.

Press Backed the Loyalists

Unfortunately for the Nationalist propagandists—happily for the Loyalists—American newspapermen in Spain, with three or four notable exceptions,¹⁰ were convinced that on the whole the Loyalists had much the better of the argument. The Loyalists were talking facts, they said. Herbert Matthews, Lawrence Fernsworth, Frank Kluckhohn, Harold Callendar, and G. L. Steer, of the *New York Times*; Vincent Sheean, James Minifie, and Leland Stowe, of the *New York Herald Tribune*; Ernest Hemingway, of the *North American Newspaper Alliance*; John Whitaker and Richard Mowrer, of the *Chicago Daily News*; Jay Allen, of the *Chicago Tribune*—all told, day after day, of the help that Hitler and Mussolini were sending to General Franco. None of them seemed to believe that Franco could possibly last without it, for the people, they said, were against him. And they laughed at the “Communist menace.”

¹⁰ William Carney, of the *Times*, was one; Edward H. Knoblauch, of the *Associated Press*, was another.

Partisans of General Franco turned on the reporters, therefore, charged them with distortion, the “propagation of falsehood,” Communist sympathies, “culpable ignorance.”¹¹ “Propaganda Captures the Newspapers,” wrote Fletcher Pratt in *The American Mercury*; and Father Thorning curtly told *Why the Press Failed on Spain!* Others bombarded newspapers and press associations with letters denouncing the correspondents, and calling them names. One editor was informed that his reporter in Spain was unbalanced. When two newspapermen quit their papers, the rumor was spread that both had been fired—one, it was said, for taking money from the Loyalist government. (The rumors were untrue.)

Aside from the accounts of German and Italian troops in Nationalist Spain, the stories that particularly aroused Franco sympathizers were those about the bombing of Guernica, and the cold-blooded murder of Loyalist militiamen and sympathizers in the bull-ring of Badajoz, on the Portuguese frontier. Guernica was the “Holy City” of the Basques. G. L. Steer, of the *New York Times*, and *The Times*, of London, reported that it was destroyed by Nationalist planes, though an “open town.” Now, the Basques are Catholics—and deeply religious Catholics, too. Nevertheless, they fought with the Popular Front government against Franco. (The Basque priests were especially loyal.) And the Popular Front government had always taken pains to point this out whenever it was charged with being anti-Catholic. After Mr. Steer’s Guernica story appeared, Loyalist propagandists argued that General Franco was quick to forget his reverence for Catholicism whenever Catholic priests and laymen opposed him.

Nationalist Atrocities Denied

On the whole, pro-Nationalists in the United States were agreed that neither the Guernica bombing nor the Badajoz bull-ring executions had ever taken place, although some of them said that even if they had occurred they were relatively minor atrocities, compared with the alleged Loyalist atrocities, that is. “Granting that there were executions in Badajoz, do they justify or do they lessen the guilt or the extent of the Loyalist Government in executing at least 14,000 priests or Religious in the territory

¹¹ Loyalist sympathizers made similar charges against Mr. Carney.

of Spain held by them?" asked the open letter to Protestants.¹⁸ Some Nationalist propagandists went even further. Said Mr. Hart: "Aside from isolated cases, if any, I don't believe the Nationalists have been guilty of atrocities."¹⁹

Surprisingly enough, now that General Franco is the undisputed master of Spain, his supporters are openly admitting—even boasting, in fact, that much of what they wrote and said was untrue. Adolf Hitler, in *Mein Kampf*, has discussed at length the power of the direct lie—the whopper—in propaganda; and Marshal de Bono's history of the Ethiopian invasion (which appeared shortly after Italy's victory was assured) goes *Mein Kampf* one better, citing instance after instance to prove just how successful lying can really be. Last month, the Germans and Italians again were telling about the mendacity of their propaganda. Count Galeazzo Ciano, the Italian Foreign Minister, who in October, 1936, denied as "fantastic and devoid of any foundation whatever" the charge that Italy was taking part in the Spanish civil war, revealed in the Italian periodical, *Gerarchia*, that Fascist intervention had begun as early as July 25, 1936—only seven days after the war itself began. And Marshal Hermann Göring's *Essener National Zeitung* revealed that German intervention began on July 20—only two days after the beginning of the revolt. The *Forze Armate*, official publication of the Italian army and navy, announced that in the four months from mid-December, 1936, to mid-April, 1937, Italy sent 100,000 men to General Franco. The mysterious submarines and warships that sunk Loyalist shipping in the Mediterranean were Italian ships, *Forze Armate* said: there were 149 of them.

Similarly, on June 6, last, Adolf Hitler welcomed 15,000 members of the Condor Legion home—veterans of the Spanish war. Some 2,500 German sailors were also received. And Hitler boasted of "Germany's war" in Spain.

There have been similar admissions—the disclosure by Giuseppe Valle, under-secretary for aviation, that Italian aviators shot down 943 Loyalist planes, for example—and they all serve to confirm the Loyalists in their charges of Italian and German aid to Franco. (Indeed, the Loyalists underestimated the extent of fascist intervention. In March, 1937, just after

Italy had sent 100,000 men to Spain, Juan Alvarez del Vayo, the Loyalist foreign minister, estimated the number of Italian troops at only 15,600.) At best, those propagandists for General Franco in the United States, who denied that German and Italian troops were fighting in Spain, now seem to have been woefully misinformed.

Now It Can Be Told

Actually, the Germans and Italians have in the weeks since General Franco's victory march destroyed, one by one, most of the arguments by which propagandists for General Franco in the United States attempted to rally support to his movement. The charge that Soviet intervention compelled Germany and Italy to intervene no longer is tenable, for, as the New York *Herald Tribune* pointed out last month,²⁰ it has generally been agreed that Soviet intervention began in October, 1936, when Hitler and Mussolini, by their own admission, were already involved deeply. Even anti-Soviet propagandists have given mid-October as the date of the first Soviet intervention—General W. G. Krivitsky, for example.²¹ Irving Pflaum, who spent five years in Spain for the United Press, and covered the first two years of the war from the Loyalist side, has also written: "Russia remained aloof for four months after the Franco coup. . . ."²² Mr. Pflaum, though pro-Loyalist, is definitely anti-Soviet, and believes that Joseph Stalin was as much responsible as Hitler and Mussolini for the defeat of the Popular Front government. And he insists that "Russia doled out its help carefully, teasingly. . . ."

In short, to quote The Foreign Policy Association,²³ the Germans and Italians can no longer reasonably insist that men and munitions were sent to Spain only to counteract Soviet intervention. They have therefore begun to devise new reasons for their part in the war. And these new reasons again serve to bolster the arguments of Loyalist sympathizers, and to

²⁰ June 2, 1939.

²¹ *Saturday Evening Post*, April 15, 1939. There has been some question about General Krivitsky's true identity. The *New Masses* has called him an imposter, saying that he never served in the Soviet Army. The *Post* insists that he was in charge of the Soviet intelligence, and fled to America to escape Stalin's wrath. His testimony is, however, valuable as representative of the charges of anti-Soviet propagandists.

²² "Russia's Role in Spain," *The American Mercury*, May, 1939.

²³ See *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, June 16, 1939.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 102.

weaken those of the Nationalists. The Loyalists, it will be remembered, said that Nationalist charges of "Communism" were nothing but camouflage: the conflict in Spain, they said, was really between democracy and fascism, with the Popular Front government representing the forces of democracy. The Nazis, apparently, now agree with the Loyalist propagandists; at least, on June 8 the *Völkischer Beobachter* called the Spanish civil war "the decisive battle of the democracies against the authoritative states." The very existence of the Popular Front government and its friendly relations with liberal democracies like France justified the German intervention, said the newspaper.

Similarly, Adolf Hitler, in his address of June 6, made it clear that his intervention was aimed primarily at "the Christian democracies," not at "bolshivism."

Many of the Spanish Nationalists, themselves, have likewise invalidated the arguments of pro-Nationalist propagandists in the United States, and quite as rudely as Hitler and Mussolini, too. Here it was said that Calvo Sotelo's murder touched off the revolt. As this study has already noted, however, General Franco's authorized biographer makes no such claim. He reports that news of the murder reached the Spanish generals *while they were plotting the revolt*.²⁴ Denials that Spain will be fascist under General Franco also meet with little sympathy from the Spanish Nationalists, themselves. According to Mr. Hart, the *Falange Espanola*, whose program, he says, has been adopted by General Franco, is not fascist. The *Falange Espanola*, itself, thinks differently. It calls itself fascist. Señor Gil Robles, Nationalist leader, has said that "its principles and methods of action are inspired by the modern totalitarian states."

It cannot be denied that violence was rampant in Spain before the revolt broke out; however, it was the fascists, not the so-called "Communists" who created the chaos. On the eve of the elections in 1936, for example, José Antonio said: "The Phalanx will not respect the electoral vote . . . if the examination of the ballots results contrary, perilously contrary, to the eternal destinies of Spain, the Phalanx will scornfully toss out, by force, the election results."

Incidentally, the Falangist program which General Franco has adopted for Spain is the

same program that candidates of the *Falange Espanola* proposed in the elections of February, 1936. Its popularity with the Spanish people (in that year, at least) is perhaps indicated by the fact that every *Falange* candidate for the Cortes was defeated.

What of the Future?

The Foreign Policy Association has said:

Viewed in perspective, the Spanish episode . . . represents one phase in the attempt of the fascist powers to obtain strategic domination and political influence in Europe and elsewhere—an undertaking they appear ready to pursue by any means at their disposal. The Spain which Germany and Italy have left is not neutral. . . . Its bases and fortified positions, athwart the South Atlantic and Western Mediterranean sea routes, may be used by fascist planes, ships and men when the opportunity arises. The Western powers must now consider what is to be done to meet the existing situation, and how creation of similar spheres of influences in other strategic areas may be avoided.

If the Foreign Policy Association is right (and it can, of course, be wrong), then it may be that we can expect the fascist powers to repeat in South America what they have already done in Spain. Most of the nations of South America were originally Spanish; the people on the whole are Spanish-speaking; they are Catholics, too. Moreover, it should not be too difficult to create revolutions in most of the nations of the continent; even the United States has done it occasionally. And what South American government, unaided, could long resist an uprising that had German, Italian, and Spanish aid?

However, the fascists could succeed only if the United States were to keep hands off. In the event of any fascist-backed revolution in South America, therefore, fascist propagandists would probably bombard the American people with arguments pretty much like those we heard about the Spanish civil war. The government would be called red, atheistic, Communist; the uprising would be called spontaneous, the result of Communist excesses; the fascists would deny point-blank any part in the revolt; they would say, as Count Ciano said about Spain, that reports of fascist aid were "fantastic."

"Do they [fascist officials] assume that all other peoples are so profoundly stupid that no amount of lying will weaken their credulity?" the New York *Herald Tribune* asked last month. The answer would appear self-evident.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 165.

Propaganda Analysis Worksheet

DURING the last three years Spain has frequently been called the proving ground for the next world war. Technical experts from the world's armies have watched new airplanes, new anti-aircraft guns, and new tanks meet the tests of actual combat. New tactical principles have emerged to meet the new situations which mechanized war presents. Out of Spain also came vague new outlines for the use of military power as an instrument of national policy. Under totalitarian philosophy the benevolent neutrality of the nineteenth century has become the "undeclared war" of the twentieth, characterized by sending masses of conscripted soldiers to fight under the mask of "volunteers," and naval action by "pirate submarines."

Have the methods of the propagandists changed to conform to the news methods of totalitarian ministers and the new strategy of their generals? Captain Sidney Rogerson, in his *Propaganda in the Next War* states: "However many the new instruments, they do not alter the character of the time, only its volume. The principles will remain the same. . . . It will still be the message that counts, not the method by which it is delivered." What are these principles? Rogerson summarizes some of them: "*Propaganda must always be based on truth, even though it may twist this, especially by implication.*"

The reader who is questioning old principles in propaganda under the assumption that changes may occur in this area to conform with the new military techniques of power politics may test this principle in the light of the Spanish case study. As the current bulletin points out, fascist propaganda seems frequently to be based on the direct lie. Has the western mind which has been trained to detect "twists and implications" failed to grasp this bolder and more direct method?

With the Monroe Doctrine as the keystone of our foreign policy Americans must learn the new techniques for influencing public opinion. Mastery of these techniques and an awareness that we are solving our own problems in a world of vague and conflicting ideologies may clarify

our thinking and decrease our ineptitude. If Spain was a laboratory in which one of the problems was keeping America "neutral" what have Americans learned from the experience?

GROUP WORK PROJECT

Spain and South America

What is the significance of the new totalitarian, authoritarian state in Spain in the field of United States-Latin American relations? This is the question which every American should attempt to answer. Spain is the cultural homeland of most of South America. Moreover, it now appears that fascism is a form of revolution, and all revolutionary movements since the French Revolution have tended to overrun their frontiers in a missionary effort to carry their ideas abroad. Will the new Spain attempt to play a more active role in world affairs?

Cultural differences between nations give rise to varied loyalties and prejudices. Differences in politics, education, and religion at times make the conduct and language of the people of one nation almost unintelligible to the people in a different nation. To what extent do we understand the Spanish mentality?

Salvador de Madariaga, *Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards*. Oxford University Press, H. Milford, London, 1938.

Salvador de Madariaga, *Americans*. Oxford University Press, London, 1930.

Compile a list of the present governments in Latin America. How long has each government been in existence? Are Latin American dictators tending to follow the European pattern?

Review the letter on "Propaganda Techniques of German Fascism," *Propaganda Analysis*, May, 1938, and "News from Europe," October 1, 1938. With the techniques in mind and with a knowledge of Latin American conditions can you outline a pattern of fascist intervention in a South American state with the accompanying propaganda which would be directed against America to secure a "hands off" policy?

Rippy, Fred J., *America and the Strife of Europe*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1938.

Beals, Carleton, *The Coming Struggle for Latin America*. Lippincott, New York, 1938.

Ford, Guy Stanton (ed.), *Dictatorships in the Modern World*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1934.

¹ Rogerson, S., *Propaganda in the Next War*, p. 82. Geoffrey Bles, London, 1938.

GROUP DISCUSSION
"Communism" Again

In the Worksheet for February 1, 1939, the Japanese assertion that in fighting the Chinese government they were really fighting Communism was considered. In the Spanish story, the issue of Communism rises again. Consider the separate charges of the Franco supporters:

1. That for months before the beginning of the civil war "Spain was in chaos, with Communists and leftists simply running wild."
2. "On February 27, 1936, Communist revolution began in Spain, under direct orders from Moscow and financed 'with extraordinary amounts of money.'"
3. "German and Italian help was 'hastily improvised,' because of the fact that Mussolini and Hitler were taken by surprise by the speed and weight of Russian intervention."

How was public opinion in your group affected by the charges that Loyalist Spain was Communistic? That the Chinese government of Chiang Kai-shek is Communistic?

Consider the charges listed above in the light of disclosures made after June 1, particularly when German and Italian troops returned home.

Make a list of the traditional American sentiments to which foreign propagandists can appeal. Consult, *Propaganda Analysis*, March 1, 1939, "Communist Propaganda, U.S.A. 1939 Model"; February 1, 1939, "War in China," January 1, 1939, "The Attack on Democracy"; and June 10, 1939, "Britain Woos America." For example, many Americans are militantly in favor of democracy, they hate dictators, they usually favor the underdog in a fight, etc. Two lists may be compiled—one of loyalties and the other of prejudices.

INDIVIDUAL PROJECT
U. S. Foreign Policy

The debate on the present Neutrality Act is reaching a climax. Four general proposals have been brought forward:

1. To retain the act in its present form, requiring the President to declare an embargo against any nation at war.
2. To amend the act to permit a system of "cash and carry" which would permit trade with

belligerents in their ships but with no credit arrangement.

3. To permit the President to declare one nation the aggressor in a conflict and permit trade with the nation attacked.
4. To repeal the present act with all restrictions and to return to the position we occupied in 1914.

Which one of these courses of action do you favor today? Which course of action did you favor a year ago? In 1936? In 1930? Have you changed your position? Study polls of public opinion to see if there has been any drift in the direction of change? If there is a growing demand for a change in policy can the change be explained in terms of commercial interest? Military interest? Political interest? Sentiment? Which of these interests has been most effective in shaping our foreign policy in Spain? In the Far East?

The present Neutrality Act was passed as a result of our experience in the World War 1914-1918. Have the wars in Spain and China taught Americans new lessons on the subject of neutrality?

Mumford, Lewis, *Men Must Act*. Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1939.

Chase, Stuart, *The New Western Front*, Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1939.

Van Loon, Hendrik, *Our Battle*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1938.

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Propaganda Analysis

A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

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The Associated Farmers

IMPERIAL, the most southerly of California's agricultural valleys, was the birthplace of the Associated Farmers. The valley extends into Mexico and shares its climate. Temperatures of 117 and 120 are not uncommon in summer, and residents boast that it is the hottest place in the United States. Yet Major General Van Horn Moseley, U.S.A., retired, found its climate invigorating even in June, when Dies committee investigators located him in El Centro, Imperial's metropolis. Imperial Valley air is "pure," he says, and "100 per cent American."

"Gentlemen," he told members of the Dies committee when he returned to Washington, "I wish you could go down there and breathe that . . . air."

A letter in the files of the Dies committee may throw some light on General Moseley's curious testimonial to Imperial's parched and dusty air. The letter was written by George Deatherage, chief of the avowedly fascist Knights of the White Camellia, who hopes to end democracy in the United States and make Van Horn Moseley dictator. Mr. Deatherage's letter suggested a meeting in Chicago of "leaders of groups on our side of the fence." One of the men he planned to invite was Father Charles E. Coughlin. Another was the Reverend Gerald Winrod, whose friends call him "the Jayhawk Nazi." A third was Colonel Walter E. Garrison, a leading figure and a former president of the Associated Farmers of California, and (at the time Deatherage wrote his letter, in 1938) president of its offshoot, the Associated Farmers of the Pacific. The Farmers first began to Associate in the "pure, 100 per cent American air" of Imperial Valley.

Who are the Associated Farmers? Such publications as *Business Week* see in them a new force against unionism. Elmer F. Andrews, Administrator of the Fair Labor Standards act, accuses them of playing a major part in the lobby for revision of the law, and of the Wagner act, and the Social Security Law, as well.² Farm journals celebrate the success of the Associated Farmers in protecting "the right to harvest." In Oregon, informed observers like Richard L. Neuberger credit them with putting over America's most drastic anti-labor law in what has been considered America's most progressive State. In California, the defeat of Governor Culbert Olson's program in the Legislature is attributed to the Associated Farmers.

Anyone who examines the literature of the Associated Farmers, however, must wonder, at first, just what the shooting's about. The name itself has the pleasantest of connotations. "Farmer" is linked with memories of rural peace and honest toil. "Associated" carries the wholesome aura of cooperation. From the advertising man's point of view, "Associated Farmers" would seem as well calculated to overcome sales resistance as "Ivory" for soap or "Aunt Jemima" for pancake flour.

The declaration of purposes in the literature of the Associated Farmers contains little, if anything, which one would quarrel with, and it says nothing whatsoever about labor unionism. Their object, the Associated Farmers say, is:

To protect, preserve, and maintain American institutions and ideals; to preserve the constitutional

¹ A summary of the letter was issued by The United Press on May 29 of this year.

² Mr. Andrews delivered his address on June 19.

form of government in both state and nation; to oppose and combat any and all doctrines or practices which imperil the maintenance of these constitutional liberties; to protect American schools and Constitutional privileges which the educational system of America has brought to all children and students; to fight against the infiltration of subversive doctrines into the educational system and into the government; to combat the dictatorship of individuals or groups; to foster and encourage respect for and to maintain law and order, particularly by cooperating with local, state, and national official and governmental agencies; to promote the prompt, orderly, and efficient administration of justice; and to promote and protect the economic and agricultural welfare of the citizens of the United States, and particularly of the citizens of California.³

On the whole, this statement is composed of Glittering Generalities, and it seems broad enough to cover most any organization. Aside from the fact that certain of the vague phrases, such as "infiltration of subversive doctrines into the educational system" and "to combat the dictatorship of individuals or groups," suggest familiar bits of Name-calling, there seems no reason why the Associated Farmers should arouse such opposition from progressives, such animosity from trade unions.

Don't Mention Unions

Not only do the Associated Farmers omit any reference to unionism from the declaration of purposes, but they have explicitly and officially denied any opposition to labor unions, whether in the field or the factory. "The Associated Farmers do not oppose organized labor. . . . We have no objections to organization of rural workers," Senator Hiram Johnson, of California, was told in April of this year.⁴

If you go into California to find out why the Associated Farmers, despite their protestations of friendliness to labor, are so vigorously disliked by the unions—A. F. of L., as well as C.I.O.—you are impressed at once with the fact that farming in the State is quite unlike farming anywhere else. California farms resemble the farms of the Middle West as little as the modern shoe factory resembles the old-fashioned cobbler. The farmer at his plow, the hired man at the farmer's table—these are rarely found there. Characteristic are intense concentration,

absentee ownership, and irrigation, which requires much capital and seasonal labor. In 1935, Paul Taylor found that 30 per cent of the country's large-scale cotton farms, 41 per cent of the large-scale dairy farms, 44 per cent of the large-scale general farms, 53 per cent of the large-scale poultry farms, and 60 per cent of the large-scale fruit groves and vineyards were located in California. ("Large-scale farm" he defined as one whose crops were valued at \$30,000 or more.)

The railroads and the banks, the giant fruit and packing corporations in California are the dominant and typical farm owners. Two per cent of the farms cover 35 per cent of the land, pay 36 per cent of the wages for hired labor, receive 32 per cent of the total crop value.⁵ Naturally, there are many small farmers too; but they are little, if anything, like the small farmer of the Middle West or East. They don't work in the fields themselves, and they buy their food at the corner store. In many cases their crops are not only packed or processed but picked as well by the shipper or canner who buys them. Sometimes, the actual planting, weeding, thinning, and growing on their acres is done by contractors, who hire out much as building contractors do.

A floating army of some 200,000 men, women, and children gathers the California harvests, moving northward with summer's onset and southward again with the winter. This landless, homeless mass has been recruited in years past from the four corners of the earth; coolies from China, "rag heads" from India, Armenians fleeing the Turk, Portuguese from the Azores and the Canaries, Mexicans from below the border. Today, most of the workers are native-born Americans, refugees from the soil-destroying drought and job-destroying tractor, the "Okies" of John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*.

The relationship that exists between the men of large affairs who run California's agriculture and these hordes of the humble and dispossessed is not the same as that between Farmer John and the hired man.

Came the N.R.A.

Against this background of large-scale farming and thousands of wandering farm hands, what happened in the fields of California in 1933 can more easily be understood. In that

³ *Statement of Aims*, leaflet issued by the Associated Farmers of California, Inc., 472 Russ Building, San Francisco.

⁴ *The Associated Farmer*, April 15, 1939.

⁵ "Who Are the Associated Farmers?" *The Rural Observer*, September-October, 1937.

year, the National Industrial Recovery Act was passed, and labor was guaranteed the right "to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing." The law was never meant to apply to farm labor, but the Mexicans, Filipinos, and poor whites on the highways of California, following the harvests in search of work, didn't know that. News of Section 7A came to them vaguely, as word of the Emancipation Proclamation must have seeped through to black men in the embattled South. California's migratory workers, who then were making as little as twelve and one-half cents an hour, began to organize. There were strikes. The strikes provoked resistance, and resistance found embodiment in the Associated Farmers.

The facts surrounding the birth of the Associated Farmers are nearly as muddy as the water that trickles down from the Colorado into the Imperial Valley's ditches, turning what once was desert into a rich melon and vegetable garden. Apparently, however, the attempts of the farm hands to organize provoked some of the farmers to "agree to cooperate to harvest crops in case of strikes, and to offer their services to the local sheriff immediately as special deputies in the event of disorders arising out of picketing and sabotage." The farmers went into action in January, 1934, and they landed on the front pages of virtually every newspaper in the country. Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, chairman of the National Labor Board under the N.R.A., thereupon ordered an investigation. His committee, headed by Simon J. Lubin, charged the farmers with suppressing civil liberties and the right to organize.⁶ The California Farm Bureau Federation, the Chamber of Commerce, and the State Department of Agriculture refused to accept these conclusions. They sent their own committee into the Imperial Valley, headed by Assemblyman (now State Senator) John Phillips.

Difference in Emphasis

The Lubin report and the Phillips report⁷ considered together provide us with a kind of laboratory study of the conflict in California. The contrasting attitudes and the contrasting treatment of the same facts are characteristic and reappear in every other "riotous disturb-

ance" caused or quelled—as one prefers—by the Associated Farmers. A few changes of names, dates, and detail, and the reports would as well sum up the opposing sides in the controversies that rage about San Joaquin, Stockton, Lodi, Salinas, Santa Rosa, Yakima—all the battlefields of the Associated Farmers. Speaking broadly, they differ but little on the basic facts. The differences are in the emphasis. On the one side, a quick search for Communists, or "communitistic agitators," or radicals, or "trouble makers"—almost always present, particularly in the broad definitions favored by Associated Farmers—and Q.E.D.: "a communist conspiracy." The remedy: repression. On the other side, a search for bread-and-butter reasons, in the belief that men do not strike because of ideology alone. The remedy: better wage and living standards. Neither remedy is as easy as it sounds, for each side tends to simplify the picture for its own purposes.

Sources of Funds

After the Phillips report was made, the organizations which sponsored it named D. B. Hutchison, dean of the School of Agriculture, University of California (which owns a 5,000-acre vineyard at Kearney); Edson Abel, attorney for the California Farm Bureau Federation; and Robert Wilson, chairman of the agriculture section of the California Chamber of Commerce, to form the Associated Farmers. This was done on May 7, 1934. A State office was set up. Organizers were sent out to arrange for the county units. Today, Associated Farmers are members of these county units, and the county units in turn are affiliated with the State body. The Associated Farmers now have units in virtually every county in the State, and claim a membership of 30,000. There are 150,000 farmers in California.

Sources outside of agriculture supplied at least part of the funds with which to launch the organization. The annual reports of the Railroad Commission of California show that Southern Pacific Railroad contributed \$2,500 to the Associated Farmers in 1934; the Santa Fe Railroad, \$1,500; the Pacific Gas and Electric

⁶ *Report of the National Labor Board by Special Commission*, February 11, 1934. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

⁷ *The Imperial Valley Farm Labor Situation: Report of the Special Investigating Committee appointed at the request of the California State Board of Agriculture, the California Farm Bureau Federation, and the Agriculture Department of the California State Chamber of Commerce*. Sacramento, Calif., April 16, 1934.

Company, \$1,250; the Union Pacific, \$600; and Western Pacific, \$400. In 1935, the Pacific Gas and Electric contributed \$625; the Western Pacific, \$400; and the Southern California Gas Company, \$300. Larger contributions were resumed in 1936, when Southern Pacific gave the Associated Farmers \$2,225; the Sante Fe, \$1,335; the Pacific Gas and Electric, \$1,000; and the Union Pacific, \$34. In 1937, the contributions from these sources were: Southern Pacific, \$1,300; Sante Fe, \$780; and the Western Pacific, \$208.

Carey McWilliams, Commissioner of Immigration and Housing of the State of California, has said⁸ that "the initial funds" for the Associated Farmers were raised by Earl Fisher of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, and Leonard Wood, president of the California Packing Company. McWilliams claims to have a stenographic report of the meeting at which the Associated Farmers was first organized, and he reports: "At this meeting, it was decided that farmers should 'front' the organization, although the utility companies and banks would exercise ultimate control."

In Oregon, Too

In Oregon, likewise, the Associated Farmers have drawn heavily on business for support. They spent \$32,440.65 to finance their recent campaign for the anti-labor initiative, and of that sum \$32,336 came from the Oregon Business Council. Presumably, the remaining \$104.65 came from bona-fide farmers.⁹

Public utilities and railroads in California are regulated by the State, and they are compelled by law to report all contributions to such organizations as the Associated Farmers. Similarly, in Oregon, State law requires full reports on contributions for political campaigns. However, the Associated Farmers have no doubt received other direct contributions from business and industrial concerns which didn't come under either State or Federal law. Just how much they received, and where they got it, cannot, therefore, be known. Moreover, the Associated Farmers receive indirect contributions from the banks and from business. In many counties, dues in the organization are based on the amount paid in wages on the farm; in other

counties, dues are based on the value of the crop. Naturally, the big farms with large payrolls and outputs contribute most of the dues. And these farms are generally owned by railroading, banking, canning, and shipping interests. The Southern Pacific railroad and the Bank of America are California's biggest landlords; the bank, through its subsidiary, California Lands, actually farms the land itself, growing peaches, grapes, prunes, barley, potatoes, and hay.¹⁰

"Big Business" Farmers

Of the three presidents of the Associated Farmers of California, only one has been a small grower. The first president, S. Parker Frisselle, in addition to managing the University of California's 500-acre vineyard at Kearney, is a director of the Sunset Oil Company, a director of the California Chamber of Commerce, and president of the Agricultural Labor Bureau of San Joaquin Valley. The bureau is an employer-controlled hiring hall for farmer labor.

The second president of the Associated Farmers, Colonel Garrison, a former State Director of Public Works, is the owner of a 240-acre grape ranch at Lodi. The present head is Holmes Bishop, who formerly ran the Associated Farmers of Orange County. Mr. Bishop is generally introduced to visitors as "a small farmer." He operates a 20-acre orange grove in Orange County. He serves the Associated Farmers of California without pay. He told a representative of the Institute that the 20-acre grove was his only source of livelihood.

A number of "big business" farmers have been connected with the Associated Farmers since their formation. One is C. C. Teague, director of the Security First National Bank of Los Angeles, who has been described by the *Hollywood Tribune* as "feudal overlord of lush Ventura County." Mr. Teague is head of the California Walnut Growers' Exchange, owner of the "Diamond" brand, and of the California Fruit Growers' Exchange, which controls "Sun-kist." R. E. Fisher, vice-president of Pacific Gas and Electric, has also been associated with the Associated Farmers. So has H. C. Merritt, part owner of Tagus ranch, member of the family

⁸ *Factories in the Fields* by Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, 1939.

⁹ "Oregon Strikes Back," by Richard L. Neuberger. *Collier's*, January 28, 1939.

¹⁰ The W. J. Ghent survey of 1919 showed that the Southern Pacific owned 2,598,775 acres in Southern California alone. The Bank of America is said to control approximately half of the farm lands in central and northern California.

which owned the Mesabi iron range in Minnesota. A delegate to the Associated Farmer convention in 1937, and, according to the *Rural Observer*, an organizer for the Associated Farmers, was Joseph Di Giorgio. His \$30,000,000 Di Giorgio Fruit Company is the world's largest shipper of fresh fruit and owns some 40,000 acres of fruit land in the United States, principally in California. He now controls the famous Italian-Swiss wineries and vineyards in Sonoma County, which were originally established as cooperatives.

Anti-Semitic Activities

Of the three secretaries of the Associated Farmers of California, the first two, Fred Goodcell and Harper Knowles, have made a profession of combatting "subversive activities." Knowles was formerly in charge of anti-subversive activities for the California American Legion and was a leader in the campaign to deport Harry Bridges. Their employment may explain some of the activities and connections of the Associated Farmers: the distribution of a circular "in which they had attempted to make out, by reference to a faked marriage license, that Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, was a Jewess"; the sponsoring in 1936 and 1937 of meetings for the Rev. Martin Luther Thomas, of Los Angeles, "Christian American Crusader," and more recently of meetings addressed by Samuel J. Hume, of the California Crusaders. "As a result of Mr. Thomas' harangues, the authorities in Riverside County employed a special detective, at a salary of \$1800 a year, to spy on the 'subversive activities' of school children in the Riverside public schools." The present secretary of the Associated Farmers is Harold Pomeroy, State Relief Administrator under Governor Merriam.

The power of the Associated Farmers seems to rest, directly or indirectly, on the economic and political power of banking, industrial, and corporate farm interests. This support reflects itself in the cooperative attitude taken by many government officials and the extent to which the Associated Farmers mesh into county, State, and even Federal Governments. Hugh Osborne, southern vice-president of the Associated Farmers of California, is chairman of the Imperial County board of supervisors. In Solano County, the Agricultural Commissioner, Hugh Wren, is a director of the Associated Farmers. In Alameda County, the secretary

of the County Farm Bureau served as secretary of the Associated Farmers. In Colusa County, the Agricultural Commissioner is a secretary, too. All but one of the ten members of the Agricultural Pro-rate Commission appointed by Governor Merriam to administer California's "Little A.A.A.," were Associated Farmers. The Associated Farmers boasted that nine of the eleven members of the committee named by Secretary Wallace in 1937 to administer the fruit and vegetable marketing code were also members.

The "Red" Scare

Examination of Associated Farmer propaganda leaves the impression that the organization tends to represent discontent among agricultural workers as largely due to Communist agitators. Wages and working conditions are glossed over (though leaders will admit that they are a source of dissatisfaction), and the rank and file are told simply that if it were not for "the reds," farm workers would be happy and contented. In order to separate fact from propaganda, let us start by clearing away similar propagandistic over-simplifications on the other side. The tendency there is to picture the migratory worker as the exploited pawn of a bloated agrarian plutocracy, and to dismiss charges of Communist influence as false. Neither of these views is entirely true.

While some of the great grower-shippers may be able to make profits under almost any conditions, many of them, and certainly the smaller ones, have been in bad financial straits since 1929. The Lubin committee reported that the grower-shippers of Imperial claimed average losses of \$3,500,000 a year from 1930 to 1933 inclusive. Nor are the charges of "communistic influence" pure fancy. The Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union was affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League, the central body established by the Communist Party when it was intent on building up "dual unions," a policy since abandoned.

On the other hand, Carey McWilliams has found that one reason why the Communists so long had the field of migratory farm labor to themselves was the attitude of the more conservative A. F. of L. leaders. He explains:

The methods employed by the A. F. of L. were not suited to the occasion; the dues demanded of the workers were excessive; and the leadership of the A. F. of L. was, at heart, hostile to the idea of organ-

ized farm labor. This observation is particularly true of the San Francisco labor leaders of the period, most of whom were reactionary political bosses. Their attitude toward farm labor was aptly summarized by Paul Scharrenberg, for years the official spokesman in California, in a statement quoted in the *New York Times*, January 20, 1935: "Only fanatics are willing to live in shacks or tents and get their heads broken in the interests of migratory labor."

Bad Working Conditions

Charges of "Communism" and "Communist agitation" are justified. At the same time, it seems unlikely that Communist agitators, no matter how skillful, could have incited the farm hands to strike if wages and working conditions were not admittedly miserable. Twenty-five cents an hour can hardly be called munificent pay, and the workers have occasionally received 20 cents, and even 15.¹⁴ Associated Farm leaders, themselves, will grant this in conversation. Nor will they deny that unemployment exists among the farm hands, or that living conditions are less than satisfactory. These facts were acknowledged in the Phillips report, which denounced the "Communists," as they were emphasized in the Lubin report.

The Associated Farmers explain the apparent contradiction between their constant disavowals of enmity to labor unions and their strike-breaking activities by emphasizing always that farm labor unions are "Communist dominated." The cry of "Communism" is their chief propaganda stock-in-trade. Of 375 items published in their monthly bulletin, the *Associated Farmer*, 190 were devoted to Communism, the *Rural Observer* reports. Sources cited were not always irreproachable. The American Nationalist Confederation, self-styled "official fascist party," was quoted in one issue (bulletin 50). A German news service was quoted in another (bulletin 42).

Actually, the definition of Communism which the *Associated Farmer* seems to hold is rather loose, and covers anyone who might want to organize farm labor. Announcing that Fred West and Walter Cowan have been assigned by the A. F. of L. to organize agricultural workers, the *Associated Farmer* (bulletin 31) declares that "both have been reported to be members

of the Communist Party, but this charge has not been proved." Organization of farm workers, another story in the same issue warns, "is something different indeed from really reliable A. F. of L. unionization. It will be years, at least, before any agricultural workers' union can or will be formed that can be kept free from Communist domination." Another issue says of Mr. West and Mr. Cowan—both of whom have been attacked by the Communists—"There is no proof that they are Communists. But they talk their language." Still another defines a "Communist strike" as any strike "in which Communists have participated, or to which they have given encouragement." On the basis of this definition—broad enough to include almost any strike—the *Associated Farmer* estimates that 250,000 California workers have taken part in "red strikes" in two years. This estimate has been widely reprinted in the California press. One paper, the *Santa Rosa Press-Democrat*, headed its story, "Red Plotters Never Sleep."

Other Propaganda Devices

Although "Communism" is the device generally used in Associated Farmer propaganda to cover up the attack on trade unionism, others are sometimes employed, too, and with great effect. In fighting the Teamsters Union, the propaganda technique is often to speak of the "Freedom of the Highways," and to insist that while the Associated Farmers are not against the union, they nevertheless will not countenance union control of the roads over which they must carry their produce to market. Other battles are fought against the "closed shop" and "hiring hall." There are campaigns against "disorder," "riots," "agitators," "sabotage." Always, however, these are coupled with disclaimers of hostility to unionism in general.

One reason for this is that most of the small farmers—as distinguished from the corporation farm executives—do not consider themselves anti-union, are not unsympathetic to unionism, and do not think of their actions as opposed to unionism. Some of them work in the canneries in their spare time. Some have been members of labor unions in the past. At the fourth annual convention of the Associated Farmers, A. Neil MacArthur, president of the Associated Farmers of Alameda County, reported: "Considerable difficulty encountered in membership drive, due to fact that many farmers believed this organization anti-union, and a number of

¹⁴ The State Relief Administration of California estimated on July 11, 1936, that the average wage of agricultural workers in 1935 was \$289 per family. Here is how the S.R.A. described their dwellings: "Old tents, gunny sacks, drygoods boxes, and scrap tin."

them have at some time or other held cards in trade unions. As true purpose of combatting subversive activities has become known, opposition lessened."¹²

Anti-Picketing Ordinances

The Associated Farmers have hampered the organization of labor unions by obtaining the enactment of legislation against picketing. Although the organization suffered a major defeat last November in the failure of Initiative No. 1 at the polls, it has put through anti-picketing ordinances in many of the smaller cities and in most of the counties of the State. Initiative No. 1 was called a bill to bring "peace in industry" by its supporters. Its opponents attacked it as containing restrictions on labor unions so severe as to threaten "fascism" in California. The most extreme legislation enacted under Associated Farmer pressure is the Mendocino County ordinance providing for the registration and licensing of labor organizers. A fairly typical example of the anti-picketing ordinances is that adopted by the Monterey County Board of Supervisors. This makes it unlawful not only to picket but "to loiter, stand or sit in or upon any public highway . . . so as to in any manner annoy or molest persons passing along the same."

Another weapon used against labor unions is the criminal syndicalism law. Charges of criminal syndicalism provided the legal basis for the mass raids in the Imperial Valley in the spring of 1930, which ended the first wave of strikes during the depression, and crippled the Agricultural Workers Industrial League, a T.U.U.L. affiliate. More than 100 workers were arrested and eight were convicted and served time in San Quentin. This was the first time the Criminal Syndicalism Act was brought into action against farm labor organizers. The Phillips Committee report on the Imperial Valley strikes of January, 1934, recommended that the Attorney General and the State Bureau of Criminal Identification expand their work to deal with "criminal activities in connection with strike activities." This was understood to mean use of the Criminal Syndicalism Act. The second wave of strikes was ended and the second attempt to organize a farm labor union during the depression defeated by the arrest and conviction of eight leaders of the Cannery and

Agricultural Workers Industrial Union. The defendants were convicted in April, 1935, but the convictions were reversed on appeal in 1937. Whatever the theories of government and society to which these leaders subscribed, the result of their organizational work seems to have been a humble and lawful one. Gregory Silvermaster, former Director of Research for the State Emergency Relief Administration, estimated that as a result of the strikes led by this union, the general level of wages for unskilled farm workers was lifted from 15 cents an hour to 25 cents an hour.

"Blacklist" Charged

It has been charged—and denied—that the Associated Farmers maintains a system of espionage and blacklist against labor unions. Commissioner McWilliams not only makes the accusation in his new book, *Factories in the Field*, but claims to have inspected the "confidential" files of the organization in San Francisco in 1935.

At that time (he writes) they had a card-index file on 'dangerous radicals' containing approximately one thousand names, alphabetically arranged, with front-and-side view photographs of each individual, including notations of arrests, strike activities, affiliations, and so forth.

It would be difficult, indeed, to say whether or not these charges are true; but rank and file members of the Associated Farmers, to whom an investigator for the Institute talked, boasted that the organization knows of labor union plans in advance. Several Associated Farmer bulletins print information purporting to come from private agents within labor unions and the Communist Party.

Further substantiation of the charges is found in the National Labor Relations Board's decision in the Grower-Shipper case, in which the Associated Farmers figured. The decision was announced early last month. "For some time," it reads, "there has been in existence in California a State-wide organization known as the Associated Farmers. An indication of the purpose of the Associated Farmers may be gathered from the remarks of its president, Colonel Walter E. Garrison, made at a local organization meeting in Salinas toward the end of June, 1936. He contended that the farmers must organize to protect themselves against organization of the field workers. He also stated that the Associated Farmers were considering legislative

¹² *From Apathy to Action*, Associated Farmer bulletin 56.

plans to restrict the furnishing of relief to strikers. *He asked that members send him pictures of labor leaders, of 'radicals,' and said he would 'see they were handled,' that the organization had a very effective system of undercover men working in the Union, and that they had handled the suppression of a strike in Orange County.*"

Propaganda and Violence

The faithful reader of the *Associated Farmer* begins to believe that Communism is just around the corner. A man who thinks his farm in danger of expropriation is ready for action. There has been action aplenty in rural California since the Associated Farmers were organized, and the action has given rise to charges of vigilantism. These charges the Associated Farmers vehemently deny.

To sift the mass of charges and countercharges would require the patience of Job and the wisdom of Solomon. It is possible, from two sources whose reliability the organization itself would not wholly deny, to reconstruct a picture of how the Associated Farmers act in labor disputes, and of the activities which have given rise to the accusation of vigilantism. One of these sources lies in the explanations that the Associated Farmers and their supporters have made in answer to the charge. The other lies in the records of the National Labor Relations Board, which has had four cases involving the Associated Farmers.

Over and over again in the literature of the Associated Farmers one finds the statement that members act not as "vigilantes," but as deputy sheriffs. The distinction seems difficult for opponents of the organization to grasp. An article in the *Missouri Farmer* signed "Stanley F. Morse, Associated Farmers of the Pacific," explains this distinction and the organization's methods of dealing with "labor disturbances."¹³

One may note in passing that Morse does not agree with other Associated Farmers that they "have no objection to the organization of rural workers." He writes that the Associated Farmers were organized to "resist all attempts to unionize their farms or the cooperatives owned by them." Morse's background as a farmer is interesting. The Black lobby investigation disclosed that he was employed as "agricultural engineer" by the American Liberty League from November, 1934, to June, 1935, and that the Farmers Independence Council, which he organized

during the 1936 campaign, was financed in part at least by du Pont money. Morse does not dwell on his past experience in the *Missouri Farmer* article.

Morse explains that the Associated Farmer program provides that all farmers come to the defense of any farmer "threatened or attacked by radicals or labor racketeers." Where physical violence is attempted (by the "radicals or labor racketeers") "members of the Associated Farmers are sworn in as deputy sheriffs, and use *legal force* to protect the menaced farmer." The italics are ours. Morse illustrates the ease with which methods of this kind can end "trouble" by telling the story of an incident which occurred in Stockton in 1937. The incident he describes was part of the Stockton cannery strike of April, 1937. Here the Associated Farmers came to the defense, not of a fellow farmer, but of a cannery to which they sold their products. Morse says that 500 C.I.O. longshoremen from the neighboring port tried to force the workers in the cannery to join the C.I.O. The Associated Farmers went into action. The Sheriff, "responding to the request of Associated Farmers of San Joaquin County for protection," swore in 2,000 farmers as deputy sheriffs. "Early in the morning," he writes, "250 picked farmers, all deputy sheriffs and armed with shotguns, occupied the cannery before the picket line of longshoremen was established. As the farmers' trucks loaded with spinach approached, the drivers were bombarded with ripe tomatoes containing razor blades, and electric bulbs filled with sulphuric acid. When the pickets rushed forward to stop the trucks, and several farmers were knocked out by baseball bats, the deputies opened fire with shotguns. Some seventy-five longshoremen were shot in the legs, the rest broke and ran, and the trouble was over in twenty minutes."

Actions Were Legal

The important point, Morse notes, is that "these California farmers did not take the law into their own hands. They acted under the orders of the sheriff as officers of the law. Associated Farmers have protected their property and homes by means within the law. Never have they acted as 'vigilantes'." In this particular incident, the farmers were defending a cannery. That the "defense" may have involved a

¹³ "Shall Farmers Be Controlled?" by Stanley F. Morse. *The Missouri Farmer*, August 15, 1938.

violation of the Wagner Act is not discussed by Morse, but a case involving this very incident is now before the National Labor Relations Board. It is also not clear whether the farmers were acting at the request of the Sheriff or the Sheriff at the request of the Associated Farmers. Morse declares that the "remarkable results" obtained by the Associated Farmers are due to its policy of "educating" its members, the public, "and such public officials as Sheriffs." In California, he says, "peace officers now know that they must fulfil their oaths of office by enforcing the law."

Frank J. Taylor provides another friendly but somewhat different explanation of how the Associated Farmers came to be called vigilantes.¹⁴ Taylor is an admirer of the Associated Farmers and like Morse takes a simpler view of their attitude toward labor than that presented in the organization's official statements. He says that the Associated Farmers' "present opponents in the struggle for freedom of the highways are not the shadowy 'reds,'" but the conservative American Federation of Labor. It is a struggle between two powerful forces, agriculture and organized labor." He says that the first problem with which the Associated Farmers had to contend was "sabotage and syndicalism" and he depicts a scene in which agitators, many of whom "turned out to be proved Communist leaders" dragged fruit pickers from their ladders and terrorized them. "The farmers," Taylor writes, "retaliated in kind, to save their crops, and this drew the charge that the Associated Farmers were vigilantes. Nothing riles Colonel Garrison more than this accusation."

The charge of vigilantism may also be due to the readiness of some Associated Farmers to act as deputy sheriffs. The Byron, California, *Times* carried a story on March 9, 1934, on the formation of an Associated Farmer unit in the county. It was formed, according to the Byron *Times*, following a meeting of the State Farm Bureau Federation, the State Chamber of Commerce, and the American Legion. It was supported by an "anti-obstruction" ordinance (apparently a synonym for anti-picketing ordinance) passed by the County Board of Supervisors. The Sheriff, A. T. Dresser, attended the organization meeting. During the meeting "Harry Sears, one of the largest lettuce growers

of the district, was appointed head of a committee the purpose of which will be to cooperate with Sheriff Dresser in the suppression of riots." In California "riots" and "strikes" often seem interchangeable terms. Where a "riot" is a "strike" it might seem hard to tell whether Mr. Sears, the lettuce grower, was cooperating with the Sheriff or the Sheriff with Mr. Sears. A strike leader driven out of town under these circumstances might be tempted to raise the cry of "vigilantes" even though his pursuers had been legally deputized.

The California Cavaliers

The Associated Farmers seem to have provided deputies in every important strike in their territory since their formation. The decisions of the National Labor Relations Board and testimony taken before it throw light on some of these strikes. The Associated Farmers provided deputies in the Salinas strike in September, 1936; the Stockton strike in April, 1937; the Santa Rosa apple pickers strike in 1935; the Orange County orange pickers strike in 1936; the Sacramento County warehousemen's strike in 1938; the Lodi grape and cherry pickers strike of 1938; the Nevada County miners' strike. In the Salinas strike, 1,500 men were mobilized for strike duty in a day; 2,200 were mobilized in a few hours in Stockton. In addition to providing deputy sheriffs, the Associated Farmers "sponsored the formation in Sacramento of the California Cavaliers, a semi-military organization, which announced that its purpose was to 'stamp out all un-American activity among farm labor.' Mr. Herman Cottrell, an official of the Associated Farmers, and an organizer of the California Cavaliers, publicly stated: 'We aren't going to stand for any more of these organizers from now on; anyone who peeps about higher wages will wish he hadn't.'" Two union leaders were tarred and feathered at Santa Rosa; fiery crosses were burned on hill tops in San Jose.

Four National Labor Relations Board cases throw some light on the activities of Associated Farmers in strikes. One is the Bercut-Richards Packing Company case, an outgrowth of a strike against the Stockton canneries in April, 1937. A rehearing has just been ordered by the Board in this case. Colonel Garrison, then head of the Associated Farmers, went on a speaking tour of the county, denouncing the "Red menace,"

¹⁴"Freedom of the Highways," by Frank J. Taylor. *Country Gentleman*, November, 1938.

during the month before the strike. A Sheriff's posse was recruited from the Associated Farmers and armed with sawed-off shotguns, thongs, and pick handles. The farmer deputies were organized into companies and brigades. We have already seen Stanley Morse's description of what happened in this strike. Another glimpse of it was provided by a witness in the Ross Packing Company case, decided by the National Labor Relations Board March 4, 1939. The Farmers Protective Association, which later became the Associated Farmers of Yakima County, Washington, was involved in this case, in which the Board found the packing company guilty of interfering with the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, the C.I.O. union now trying to organize Pacific Coast farm labor. There, the Board found, action was by "vigilantes" rather than deputy sheriffs. A W.P.A. worker who attended a farmers' meeting during the strike testified as to a speech made at the meeting by L. O. Bird, then head of the Farmers Protective Association, and now head of the Associated Farmers of Washington. The witness said Bird described what had happened in Stockton:

He said that in this labor dispute in Stockton, California, that the farmers resorted to the use of shotguns in order to deliver their produce. . . . He said that the farmers shot low as not to hurt anyone, and he said that they did not do a great deal of general damage to anyone, but in shooting low they shot out some of the pickets' eyes. . . . Ben Miracle (the man with whom the witness came to the meeting) asked him if he thought the eyes of those workmen were of less value than a truckload or a couple of truckloads of spinach. Mr. Bird said, "Yes, they sure as hell were to the farmers."

Not "Dirt" Farmers

It would seem that Bird was not exactly a "dirt" farmer and that his organization did not owe its financial support to "dirt" farmer interests. One witness before the N.L.R.B., describing the invasion of a union meeting, said: "Mr. Bird, for instance, that was the first time I ever saw Mr. Bird in overalls." Bird provided a glimpse of the interests supporting the Farmers Protective Association in the Yakima Valley when he was asked at a farmers' meeting how he proposed to get money for his organization. "We were financially broke as an organization last year, but Produce Row came to our rescue

and advanced the funds and told us to carry on." "Produce Row" is the name given in Yakima to the handlers, packers, and canners.

The first case in which the Associated Farmers have formally been accused of violating the Wagner Act in an N.L.R.B. complaint is that of the J. G. Boswell Company, Associated Farmers of Kings County, Inc., and Corcoran Telephone Exchange versus Cotton Products and Grain Mill Workers Union, Local 21798, A. F. of L. The complaint in this case was issued on May 6 of this year by Towne Nylander, then regional director of the N.L.R.B. at Los Angeles. The Associated Farmers are charged with circulating a union blacklist in the county. The complaint says that the Associated Farmers, acting through twenty-three named individuals "and over 200 others did engage in an anti-union demonstration, and did by means of force and violence and threats of force and violence, drive from the vicinity of the entrance to the respondent's plant at Corcoran, union pickets, and did threaten union pickets and other union members with physical violence if they remained in Corcoran. . . ." Kings County has one of the anti-picketing ordinances the Associated Farmers sponsored. To conform with the ordinance the strikers did not actually picket, but instead parked an automobile outside the plant and off the highway, containing two men and bearing a sign which said "A.F.L. Picket Car." The District Attorney assured the union this was permissible under the ordinance. Here the Associated Farmers were defending a huge corporation which grows, finances, and processes cotton in plants all over California and Arizona. Many of the farmers in the county are in debt to the company.

The Salinas case, in which the N.L.R.B. found for the union, involved the crushing of the lettuce packers strike in September, 1936, in Salinas County, which supplies 90 per cent of the lettuce consumed in the United States. The lettuce "industry" is dominated by a small group of powerful shipper-growers and they mobilized local, county, and State officials, a hastily organized "Citizens Association" and the Associated Farmers to break the strike. An army reserve officer, Colonel Henry Sanborn, who publishes an anti-Communist journal, *The American Citizen*, was made "coordinator" of the assembled forces, which included 2,500 deputies. The period of the strike attracted nation-

wide attention because civil liberties were suspended. The N.L.R.B. decision speaks of the "inexcusable police brutality, in many instances bordering upon sadism," which marked that period in Salinas. Paul F. Smith, editor of the San Francisco *Chronicle* and protege of Herbert Hoover, earned the enmity of the Associated Farmers by his reporting of the strike. He visited the area himself, found that a mob had threatened to lynch the *Chronicle's* photographer and reporter if they "didn't get the hell out of Salinas." Smith called his story, "It DID Happen In Salinas."

What N.L.R.B. Said

It is necessary to note that even here, however, the Associated Farmers kept to their distinction between vigilantism and service as deputy sheriff. The N.L.R.B. decision gives a good picture of the part played by the Associated Farmers and of the familiar line it drew:

Early in June Strobel was hired by the Grower-Shipper Association to promote better relations between the shippers and the farmers. It seems more than a coincidence that almost at once thereafter he became president of the Associated Farmers of Monterey County, a local organization which had been moribund for about two years but which, under his leadership, proceeded to revive. While, at the hearing, Strobel steadfastly denied receiving any instructions or suggestions from the Grower-Shipper Association to embark on this course . . . the fact that Strobel received no pay from the Associated Farmers, but spent considerable time working for them while receiving his regular monthly salary from the Grower-Shipper Organization, and the admittedly complete harmony between the objective of the two bodies belie his denials.

Throughout the summer the Local Associated Farmers conducted a membership drive and held numerous meetings. At one of the earliest of these, Abbott, sheriff of Monterey County, was the invited guest. Strobel, on behalf of the members, announced that, if they were needed, they were ready to act as deputies under the orders of the constituted authorities. They did not believe in vigilante methods, he said. Abbott expressed his pleasure at the offer. Later, as will be disclosed, this offer was to be accepted and acted upon.

Powerful as the Associated Farmers may have become in California, and successful as they have been in preventing farm labor organization and in getting anti-labor legislation passed, their attempts to extend their influence to other States have met with little success. And the far-

ther they have gotten away from the peculiar economic set-up that exists in California, the less successful they have been. In Arizona, for example, where farming is also possible only with irrigation and itinerant labor, they have done well. In Oregon, however, they were badly defeated in their attempt to elect their candidates in the Grange. They did, of course, succeed in getting Oregon's drastic anti-labor initiative passed; but this victory was counterbalanced by the fact that under State law they were forced to reveal the source of their funds; and this, as has already been pointed out, showed clearly how completely they were financed by important business interests rather than farmers.

In Other States

In Washington a similar anti-labor initiative backed by the Associated Farmers was defeated. Colonel Garrison, as head of the Associated Farmers of the Pacific, made a four-week speaking tour through the Middle West last summer, going as far east as Illinois, but does not seem to have made a good impression. In Minnesota he appeared under the sponsorship of W. F. Schilling, a member of the Farm Board under Herbert Hoover, and he had the backing of Thomas Quinn, president of the defunct Minnesota Liberty League. He was heckled and asked about supposed vigilante activities, and the *Associated Farmer* of California complained that the questions were so similar that it suspected they were prepared in advance and sent to "radicals" in towns where Garrison was to speak. Their suspicion seems justified, for the Lubin Society played the role of a left-wing Paul Revere in the territory visited by Garrison. A California Associated Farmer bulletin of June 8 reports that "Stanley Morse is also continuing his good work in Midwest, East, and Southeast." But apparently neither his work nor Garrison's were encouraging because the plan to launch an Associated Farmers of America last December was never put into effect; whether the plan has been postponed or abandoned time will tell. The Associated Farmer idea—the idea of letting a farmer rather than a business organization carry the brunt of the fight against unionism—has been applied in other States. Wisconsin's two new laws restricting labor unions and curtailing the right to strike and picket were sponsored by a Council of Agriculture. Similar legislation, defeated by

the votes of the Chicago Kelly machine, was introduced in Illinois by the resurrected Corn Belt Liberty League, which figured in the 1936 presidential campaign. The leaders of the Farm Holiday movement were approached in 1934 on a proposal to cooperate actively with certain business organizations against labor. An alliance of that kind with a group like Farm Holiday, with a "radical" program would have explosive possibilities for it could exert a greater

appeal to small Midwestern farmers than an organization like the Associated Farmers, with their conservative orientation and "rugged individualist" doctrine. For it was by turning to a National "Socialist" party, which made all sorts of threats against "the trusts" and "capitalism" that German big business succeeded in crushing unionism and democracy. That "National Socialism" proved to be more than German business had bargained for is another story.

Propaganda Analysis Worksheet

TO MOST of us the words "farm life" bring mental pictures of the good life—of the Four Seasons; of harvest abundance stored away in cellar, in barn, on pantry shelves; of the schoolhouse on the hill; of the farmer and his family snug against winter in their well-built home. But farm life as it exists in New England and in the Middle West bears little resemblance to the way of life of the homeless army of men, women, and children who follow and who reap the fabulous harvests of California's great "farming estates."

We cannot look through the lenses of Whitier's *Snowbound*—with its idyllic pictures of the farmer and his family enjoying the fruits and the security of harvest's toil—and expect to understand the grim realities of the lives of the California farm workers. For, these men and women and children are the tattered, hungry army of the homeless—refugees by the thousands from the drought-bowl and other States. Wanderers they are who have no homes in the communities that demand their services in the lush California fields of grapes, prunes, apples, melons, lettuce, and cotton.

What a far cry is the lot of California's migratory workers from the lot of the Middle West farm hand. In the Midwest, a farm woman writes,¹ the hired man is "as much a fixture as the roomy house and the big barns." He eats with the family. He is, oftentimes, considered one of the family. He is confident that he could throw "the boss" in a "wrestlin' match." Such a man would be unlikely to listen to "agitation" or himself to "agitate" for a union: he would settle his grievances, his differences with "the boss" in the course of day to day living.

Consider, on the other hand, the case of the

California hired hand. He is a "seasonal" worker. He is employed as are mill hands at an hourly or daily wage or on a piece-rate basis. He has no personal relationship with his employer. He lives in "rag town" or its equivalent—his temporary shelter a menace to the health of the community where he is "seasonally" employed. He follows the crops to other "rag towns"; he lacks legal residence. He is looked down upon. The attitude, more often than not, of his erstwhile neighbors is: "You can't change the habits of primitive people from the Southern and Middle Western States. You can't force them to bathe or to eat vegetables."

As students of propaganda we realize that "agitation" is not solely responsible for arousing these men, women, and children to clamor for better living conditions—for adequate shelter, food, clothing, human relationships, schooling. Their situation—in the midst of plenty—carries the seeds of its own unrest, clamor, and disorder. Stock argument of the Associated Farmers is: the California migratory workers are mostly "reds," "Communists"; their ranks are filled with "agitators." In our study of the current bulletin we shall want to examine the *purposes back of these charges*, as well as their factuality.

The current Worksheet is prepared to assist groups in the making of their own explorations and researches into the many forces which have produced an organization of "Associated Farmers" and their nation-wide propagandas. *A word to the group leader:* To understand the rise of

¹ "The Home", *The Dairymen's League News*. New York City, May 9, 1939.

² Social worker quoted by Carey McWilliams in *Factories in the Field*. p. 323.

the Associated Farmers it is necessary to familiarize ourselves with the peculiar farm-factory economy of California and southwestern Arizona, and it is necessary to examine the development of this economy through the lenses of the ways of thinking and of acting of the small California and Arizona farm owner. He lives in a highly developed world of factory farming. In many cases he does not work in the fields himself; he buys his food at the corner store; his crops are not only packed or processed but picked as well by the shipper or canner who buys them. Sometimes, the actual planting, weeding, thinning, and growing of his acres are done by contractors who hire out much as building contractors do.

This type of farming, Robert A. Brady writes in his New York *Herald Tribune* review of McWilliams' *Factories in the Field* (July 30, 1939), has laid a premium on mechanization and the use of all manner of mass-production techniques. Dr. Brady points out that "the process long common in California is now swiftly invading the older agricultural regions of the central of southern plains country."

Yet this small farm owner or grower—in competition with the railroad, bank, and giant fruit and packing corporation "farmers"—still considers himself an "independent" farmer. The picture he carries of himself in his mind is that of the "rugged individualist" of pioneering days.

I GROUP WORK PROJECT

America's Farmers

The Associated Farmers can be understood, and their future prospects evaluated only in terms of California. The same thing may be said for farm problems and organizational activities in other sections of our country's rural areas. The Worksheet, accordingly, suggests several ways of initiating group study of America's farmers and their basic needs and daily life problems.

1. Use a preliminary reading of the current bulletin to launch a *general survey of regional farm conditions* in the United States. Begin your regional study with research into the following pertinent factors: (a) *historical background, or pattern*. In the case of California exploration would take the group back into the early frontier beginnings of concentrated control over land and natural resources, usually associated with long-settled communities. (b)

emergence of present day economic and social problems, considered in terms of such factors as land control, living and working conditions of small land owners and of field workers. In this connection study of regional farm problems might include questions of farm "tenancy," of "seasonal" work, of organizational activities on the part of growers and of farm workers to attempt to meet their daily life problems.

The well-rounded regional study of farm life should include examination of conditions in New England, the Middle West, the South, and California. Committee exploration and reports combined with generous group discussion should result in understandings essential to appraisal not only of the Associated Farmers, but of farmer activities throughout the country.

Many suggestions for supplementary reading materials, for sources to which to write for further information are given in the body of the current *Propaganda Analysis* bulletin. Group members in their researches will want to call upon such documented publications as those issued by the United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., the United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D. C., and various State agricultural bureaus. Other supplementary reading suggestions are given in the Minimum Reference Shelf of this Worksheet.

Note to teachers: In social studies classes, even in the elementary school, much effective classroom work has been done along lines of the regional survey of farming problems. (For the most part, however, suggestions which follow are prepared for high school and adult group work.) It is suggested that teachers of English, possibly using the preliminary discussion of this Worksheet on "pictures we carry in our minds," will find rich areas of study in connection with the historical backgrounds of regional farm problems. Example: Use Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona*, the story of early California's exploitation of the Indians in the development of the State's agricultural economy. Indeed, the whole saga of California's agrarian history can be studied and appraised through colorful fictional and historical sources.

Culminating group activities in connection with the regional survey of America's farming problems may be planned around specific questions raised in the current bulletin concerning the California crisis. Example: Contrast and appraise the Phillips report, which "denounced

the Communists," and the Lubin report, which "denounced the farmers." Page 13 of the current issue.

II DISCUSSION SUGGESTIONS

California's Associated Farmers

The following discussion and study leads are merely suggestive of some of the provocative questions raised in the current bulletin which warrant further inquiry. Certain preliminary reading and research activities are essential to intelligent consideration of them. Group planning should precede each round table or group or forum discussion of them. Remember, the purpose of the Worksheet is to carry us into considerations of pertinent economic, social, and psychological factors which create and sustain all current, controversial propaganda, such as those *for* and *against* the Associated Farmers.

Discussion topics presented below are in the form of questions and generalizations which must be explored, challenged, documented, and opened up to the "meeting of minds" in your group. They do not represent opinions or conclusions of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis.

1. California's labor troubles are the troubles of industry, not the quarrels of a Midwestern farmer with the hired man.

2. "In California," a writer in *Sunset Magazine* declared in October, 1920, "the safety valve of free land or cheap land became useless long before it quit functioning in the other Far Western States. Wheat and cattle barons controlled the bulk of the fertile land in large tracts, having acquired their principalities through purchase of the old Spanish grants or through evasion of the laws protecting the public domain." Combined with these land monopolies and the attitudes of mind they bred was a get-rich-quick attitude, a *miner's* attitude toward the land and toward the men who worked it.

3. The further one gets from California the further one gets from conditions where the farm equivalent of the "employer's association" can hope to flourish. (Why may this condition be true? Why, not true?)

4. The California and Arizona farmer has many problems with which an association of farmers might concern itself. The farmer needs cheaper freight rates to move his crops, and lower power rates to pump water for his irri-

gation ditches. He needs easier credit facilities to finance his harvests. He needs protection against the canner, processor, and packer. The cannery, processing plant, and packing shed are the economic Thermopylae passes of the fruit and vegetable country, as the grain elevator is in the wheat belt. Through these passes the crops must move, and who controls these can dictate terms and prices which the farmer must accept, if he is to reach the market. The Middle Western grain grower, through the Granger movement, early fought for government regulation of grain elevators to give him some measure of protection. Many Pacific Coast fruit and vegetable growers have sought similar safeguards against canner, processor, and packer.

5. An organization which the Southern Pacific, the Pacific Gas and Electric, and the California Packing Corporation helped to organize and to finance (the Associated Farmers) could hardly be expected to lead the farmer's battle against the railroads, the utilities, and the processors.

6. If the Associated Farmers was intended to limit its activities to labor, why was no mention made of labor in its statement of principle? Why were so many other purposes brought in? Compare and contrast the stated objectives of the Associated Farmers and their actions in legislative activities in California.

7. Many students of the Associated Farmers assert that no admixture of "fascism" is required to explain the Associated Farmers; that its members, no doubt sincerely, proclaim their opposition to all "isms," although the monthly bulletin issued by their organization not infrequently quotes from sources sympathetic to fascist dictators and domestic would-be's. Unlike the varied "shirt" movements however, these students say, the Associated Farmers are indigenous, and deeply rooted in California's traditions.

8. Violence was early used in California against the criminal, and the "vigilance committees" were soon put in motion against the first attempts to organize labor. Vigilante methods, too, were used in the organization of "cooperatives," for California's cooperatives on the whole are mechanisms by which the great growers control small rather than democratic organizations for mutual self-help. Reading reference: Richard Tracy La Piere, *The Armenian Colony in Fresno County*.

9. A large part of the success of the Associated Farmers seems to lie in the power of dominant money-interests to make it uncomfortable for farmers and townsmen who do not volunteer for service as "vigilantes" or "deputy sheriffs" in case of strikes.

10. To make a thorough-going analysis of public opinion in California—and to understand *why it is* that many small growers, whose farming interests are opposed to those of the railroads and the utilities, are members of the Associated Farmers—we must see clearly *the conflict between* the realities of the highly industrialized agrarian economy of the State and the pictures which the small growers have of themselves as "independent farmers," as "rugged individualists."

III INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP WORK

What You Can Do

1. Make a survey of the farm problems in your community. Beginning with a check up of the "factory farms" and the "individual farms" in your community, build your survey around such inquiries as:

- (a) What organizations represent these farm groups?
- (b) What are the purposes back of these programs? (Who wants what?)
- (c) What appeals do the organizations make to the farmers?
- (d) What is the relation of hired labor to the farmer in your community?
- (e) What are the work conditions for farm laborers in your community?
- (f) How do the work conditions and the living conditions of farm laborers in your community compare, or contrast, with those of the migratory workers in California as these are described in your readings?
- (g) What are the organizations for farm laborers in your community?
- (h) What attitudes toward these organizations are held by: the farm laborer? the individual farmers? the farmers' organizations?

2. In appraising any organization, as the Worksheet pointed out in May, 1939, we must take *many* factors into consideration, weighing them, evaluating them as best we can: it is not enough to deal with any one or two or three factors. Accordingly, the Institute for Propaganda Analysis submitted certain sample ques-

tions—admittedly incomplete—to be used as suggested criteria in appraising the policies and programs of organizations. Turn to these questions in the May, 1939 issue, page 7. In the light of your study of the Associated Farmers add other pertinent inquiries to your yardstick for appraising specific organizations.

3. Through a community survey or through a check of reports of the activities of the Associated Farmers from such sources as State and Federal departments of agriculture, make classifications of appeals of the organization to (a) large scale business interests; (b) small growers and townspeople; (c) farm "hired" hands. Attempt to appraise the *purposes behind* these appeals, making certain tentative generalizations concerning them. Example: Appeals made by large-scale tenants in the Associated Farmers are, "It is cheaper to lease than to own land,"

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and "It is cheaper to move than to fertilize." A generalization that might be made is, "Although tenancy in California has special characteristics it follows the familiar pattern in producing the twin evils of soil depletion and the creation of a submerged farm worker class. Soil conservation is important, but the more immediate problem demanding a solution is the farm labor situation, complicated by its migratory nature."

MINIMUM REFERENCE SHELF

California and the Associated Farmers

McWilliams, Carey. *Factories in the Field. The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California*. Little, Brown, and Co., Boston, 1939.

See McWilliams' list of reading suggestions under such headings as: California Agriculture, Fiction, Labor Disturbances, Landownership, Migrants and Transients, Minority Groups.

The Imperial Valley Farm Labor Situation: Report of the Special Investigating Committee appointed at the request of the California State Board of Agriculture, the California Farm Bureau Federation and the Agriculture Department of the California State Chamber of Commerce. Sacramento, Calif., April 16, 1934.

This is the "Phillips report" referred to in the Worksheet.

Report to the National Labor Board by Special Commission, February 11, 1934. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. This report is recommended as basic material in the Worksheet for comparative study of the "Phillips" and "Lubin" accounts of conditions in California.

Steinbeck, John. *The Grapes of Wrath*. Viking Press, N. Y., 1939. An almost documentary account of the lives of American people who are "ploughed off the land" in the Middle West and drought area, who moved westward to California in an attempt to earn a livelihood.

For an abbreviated statement of the conditions described in his novel see John Steinbeck's pamphlet, "Their Blood Is Strong," published by the Simon J. Lubin Society of California, Inc., San Francisco, April, 1938.

Suggested Sources for Further Information

Brinser, A. and Shepard, W., *Our Use of the Land*. Harper & Brothers, N. Y., 1939. Recommended

for general use in junior and senior high school study of regional farm problems.

Agricultural Service Department, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington, D. C. Write for such reports as "Large Scale Farming," issued July 29, 1929.

United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Write for the Department's *Agricultural Economics Bibliography* No. 50, on *Agricultural Relief*, issued in Washington, D. C., August 1933, or for *Agricultural Economics Bibliography* No. 52, on *The American Farm Problem*, a selected list of books and pamphlets on the economic status of the farmer and measures for his relief since 1920, April 1934.

Note: Publications of the U. S. Department of Agriculture are indispensable for the regional survey of American farm problems, suggested in the Worksheet. They include such valuable pamphlets and brochures as, "Mechanization in Agriculture and Its Effect on Farm Labor"; "Agricultural Labor in the United States, 1936-1937"; and accounts of sectional problems such as "Report for the Committee on Labor Conditions in the Growing of Sugar Beets."

United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. Write for publications related to your group study of farm conditions. The following publications, to be found in public libraries, are especially recommended:

Migration of Workers, Preliminary Report of the Secretary of Labor. In Two Volumes: Part I—*Nature of the Problem*, prepared by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics; Part II—*Social Problems of Migrants and Their Families*, Prepared by the U. S. Children's Bureau. 1938. See also: *Refugee Labor Migration to California, 1937*—Serial No. R. 794.

The Associated Farmers of California, Inc., 472 Russ Building, San Francisco. Write for such published materials of the organization as, "Statement of Aims," and for their official publication, *The Associated Farmer*.

Simon J. Lubin Society of California, Inc., 25 California Street, San Francisco. Write for their publications concerning the Associated Farmers. *Note:* Publications of the Associated Farmers and of the Lubin Society provide challenging materials for group discussion and analyses.

Propaganda Analysis

A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.

130 MORNINGSIDE DRIVE : NEW YORK CITY

Volume II

SEPTEMBER 1, 1939

Number 13

Let's Talk About Ourselves

LET'S forget about propaganda for a while. Let's talk about ourselves.

We've been talking about propaganda all year: Communist propaganda, fascist propaganda, Japanese and Chinese and chain store propaganda. All year long we've been putting the other fellow under the microscope, dissecting him to see what makes him tick. Well, there's an old saying: turn about is fair play. That is why, one year ago today—on September 1, 1938—we put *ourselves* under the microscope; told you where our money was coming from, how many subscribers we had; what people were saying about us—the bad as well as the good—what our plans were. And we told you about our study program: it had just gotten under way, but we had great hopes for it (and we still have).

Let's put ourselves under the microscope again.

The study program has developed tremendously since last year. The 300 co-operating high schools and colleges have grown to 550; the handful of adult groups has swelled to 300. Among them are church groups, civic and professional organizations, labor unions, farm groups, and educational associations, with the church groups predominant.

In addition, the Institute has been co-operating with many other educational organizations: the National Education Association, the Progressive Education Association, the Stanford Language-Arts Investigation, the American Home Economics Association, the National Council of Teachers of English, the National Council of the Social Studies. It has taken part in the national and sectional meetings of many

of these associations; it has provided materials that were used as the basis of discussion at others. Its materials have been used in many newspapers and magazines, including popular magazines and publications of civic, church, and educational groups. The Institute was asked to play an important part in the Institute of Human Relations at Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., last month, helping to arrange several of the panel discussions. One series of panels, devoted to "Propaganda and Democracy," was led by Professor Clyde R. Miller, executive secretary, with representatives of press, cinema, and radio participating. Another member of the Institute's board of directors, Professor William Heard Kilpatrick, was chairman of the series on "Education."

As many of you may remember, we had close to 5,500 subscribers in September, 1938. We have about 7,000 now. Frankly, this is more than we expected to have. We knew that many of those who subscribed in October, 1937, when the Institute was started, did so from curiosity; and we knew—better than anyone else, perhaps—that we had made plenty of mistakes in that first, experimental year. So, when the year was up, and nearly 4,900 of the 5,500 subscriptions expired, we felt that we'd be satisfied if 40 or 45 per cent of them were renewed. Over 55 per cent were renewed. Since then, about 450 new subscriptions have been coming in every month.

In addition, Institute subscribers (and non-subscribers, too) have bought thousands of copies of each issue of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS to distribute among their friends. More than 15,000 extra copies of *The Attack on Democracy*, the January 1, 1939 issue of PROPAGANDA

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ANALYSIS, were sold in this way. *Father Coughlin: Priest and Politician*, the June 1, 1939 issue, received an equally wide distribution. And so did "The Munich Plot" (November 1, 1938), *War in China* (February 1, 1939), *Communist Party, U.S.A., 1939 Model* (March 1, 1939), and *Spain: A Case Study* (July 1, 1939).

Apparently many Institute subscribers feel that some, if not most, of the Institute monthly bulletins are of permanent value. Approximately 3,000 of them have bought PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, VOLUME I, the bound volume of the first year's studies, and the overwhelming majority were old subscribers, who already had read the studies in bulletin form. Here, again, the demand far exceeded our expectations; and this month, because of the popularity of the bound VOLUME I, we expect to reprint the second year's studies in another bound volume. It will include all the bulletins since November 1,

1938, with the exception of *The Fine Art of Propaganda: A Study of Father Coughlin's Speeches*.

During the first year, the Institute's monthly studies were rather general in nature; they sought to give background, not to describe specific propagandas. During the second year, however, the bulletins have become increasingly more specific, and increasingly more timely. We have attempted to follow the news, even to anticipate it. "The Munich Plot," for example, was among the first analyses of the September crisis to reveal the possibility of the Chamberlain government's complicity in the German annexation of Sudetenland.

Similarly, the hearings of the House committee on un-American activities in Washington last May were no surprise to Institute subscribers. Nearly four months before they had read in *The Attack on Democracy* of George Deatherage's plot to establish fascism in the United States. Major General Van Horn Moseley's link with Mr. Deatherage was fully described in that study.

The Attack on Democracy was reprinted in several newspapers and magazines. The Milwaukee *Journal* ran the study in two installments. *Look* made it the basis for an extensive feature on fascist propagandists. A similar feature, inspired by the study, appeared in *Life*.

On June 10, while King George VI and Queen Elizabeth were visiting in the United States, a special mid-monthly report was issued, describing the propaganda implications of their trip. This bulletin, *Britain Woos America*, was used as the basis for an issue of *The March of Time on War, Peace, and Propaganda*.

Again seeking to anticipate the news, the Institute this summer made an intensive study of the Associated Farmers. It had already been mailed out to subscribers when the Senate voted the LaFollette civil liberties committee \$50,000 to hold open hearings on the Associated Farmers next winter.

Naturally, the studies have drawn criticism as well as praise. And most of the Institute's critics have expressed the belief that we are left-wingers, or New Dealers, or pro-Communist, or anti-business. Take, for example, what Charles B. Hudson said about us. (Mr. Hudson is the editor of the anti-Semitic paper, *America in Danger!* It was he who prevented Major General Van Horn Moseley from drinking a

glass of water at the hearings of the Dies committee, because he was afraid that someone on the committee might have poisoned it.) Discussing *The Attack on Democracy*, Mr. Hudson wrote that "Institute for Propaganda Analysis . . . in reality is a vicious propaganda agency for *Hidden Hand*." In conclusion, he said: "As to be expected, New Dealer John W. Studebaker, U.S. Commissioner of Education, Washington, D.C., highly endorses this *Hidden Hand* agency." . . .

George Sokolsky's Criticism

George E. Sokolsky, the well-known columnist, also considers the Institute pro-New Deal and pro-Communist. Mr. Sokolsky has written an exposé of the Institute for *Liberty* magazine, which should appear shortly.

Others, not going quite so far as Mr. Hudson and Mr. Sokolsky, have told us: "If you are truly unbiased in your approach you have ample grounds for propaganda analysis in the speeches of Government officials who so often speak as party leaders rather than public servants." A representative of the Advertising Federation of America, has written:

. . . I expected your Institute to assume a completely scientific attitude toward the material studied, which would necessitate entire disassociation from any interest in or sympathy with the ideas promoted or combatted by propaganda makers. I expected that your bulletins would be so full of the attitude of the scientific research worker that there would be no room for any of the layman's sympathies or prejudices. But I was disappointed . . . for they reveal bias, not merely about the scientific element in the study of propaganda methods, but in fact even about the actual subjects of the propaganda.

However, many of those who have written us had only praise for the studies. Irving Pflaum, foreign news editor of the *Chicago Times*, who covered the Spanish civil war for the United Press, called the bulletin on Spain "admirable." Charles Duff, of United Editorial Limited, in London, lauded its "objectivity." *The Attack on Democracy* brought praise even from several of those cited as pro-Nazi propagandists. One, Ernst Goerner, of Milwaukee, wrote: "I admit it is a well written article and in general fair to all those mentioned."

Our Income and Expenditures

Our income this fiscal year, ending September 30, will have been somewhat greater than

last—as will have been our expenditures. As of September 1, 1939, subscriptions and sale of publications, including nearly 1,000 copies of the *Group Leader's Guide to Propaganda Analysis*, brought approximately \$19,500.00. Donations, pledged as well as received, amount to \$31,181.50. Thus, our total income in round numbers was \$50,600.00. Total expenditures as of September 1 were approximately \$44,800.00.

Of the donations, \$13,000 came from the Good Will Fund, \$12,500 from the American Jewish Committee, and \$4,000 from the Whitney Foundation. Miscellaneous individual contributions made up the remainder.

Among the expenditures as of September 1, the largest single item was for editorial, educational, and clerical salaries: \$17,483.89. Printing came next: \$13,100.95. Postage amounted to \$1,922.98; stationery and supplies to \$1,568.95; mailing, \$1,956.24.

How Studies Are Written

Last year, we explained in detail how our publications were prepared, but the question has been coming up again. The studies are written in collaboration by the Institute's staff, with the help of the board of directors and, occasionally, outside experts. The directors see every study before it appears, make suggestions and criticisms. The executive committee of the Institute, which consists of the four officers and one other board member, usually determine what subject the bulletins should deal with. And in doing so, they generally consider the wishes of the Institute subscribers, as expressed in letters and in requests for information.

Our next study will be devoted to Europe's present crisis and what it means to America. It will emphasize the propagandas revolving about our foreign policy.

In response to many suggestions that we analyze New Deal and anti-New Deal propaganda, we plan to issue two studies, the first on Franklin Delano Roosevelt as propagandist, the second on propaganda against Mr. Roosevelt. Here, again, foreign policy will be discussed in the light of recent European developments.

The PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS WORKSHEETS, introduced this year, will be continued, for they have demonstrated their value, and especially to adult study groups. Many teachers in the high schools and colleges which are cooperating in the Institute's study program also use them; and several church groups do, too.

The Institute's Study Program

The present tendency in American education is to write the general objectives of the education of young people in terms of their physical, mental, and emotional growth and to anticipate their participation in our society at their individual age and growth levels. It is important to understand this trend—and to inquire into possible reasons for it—to appreciate increasing demands upon, and participation in, the study program of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis.

If the cooperating teachers in the Institute's experimental study program in propaganda analysis may be used as an index, it seems fair to say that increasingly as American teachers and parents become aware of social issues in our country and of the world race today between totalitarianism and democracy, they are realizing that education for life in our free society must be a continuous process of growth and development of the individual in his group, from childhood through adulthood.

The dictator-led nations serve as laboratories to show us, as never before, that a human being denied a sense of security and a place of his own in his group cannot be expected to become a happy, healthy, functioning member of a democratic society. Such a human being, indeed, is the weak link in that society; would-be little dictators, working on his pent-up frustrations, anxieties, and fears, find him easy prey.

The teacher in the Institute's study program sees his role as that of a guide to maturity. He realizes that he is teaching children, not propaganda analysis; that his job is to help children live intelligently today, each day. Accordingly, he knows that he must understand the entire pattern of growth from birth to maturity.

Our Educational Philosophy

In guiding boys and girls over the rough spots in any one of their growth stages—in helping to give them a sense of belonging, of participation, and of achievement—the real teacher of children inevitably will face the problems of propaganda analysis with his group. For, in the process of living in contemporary society critical thinking and other phases of propaganda analysis are an integral part of living, of facing life situations, and of coping with them. This point of view is as basic to the educational phi-

losophy of the Institute as the organization's insistence upon having its study materials, methods, and techniques grow out of classroom and adult group experimentation.

How, you may ask, does this theory—of meeting problems calling for critical thinking, each day—work out in practice, in the 550 cooperating high school and college classrooms which actively participate in the Institute's experimental study program? In short, what puts teeth into this broad view of the student as a citizen functioning in our society—of his behavior in voting, reading, speaking, buying, and doing his part to determine the course of social, political, and economic action in the society in which he lives?

Let us track back a bit to gain perspective. Three years ago the study of propaganda in schools was largely confined to classes in the social studies, and the general objectives were stated in terms of awareness of propaganda. Today, the study of propaganda has entered into practically all areas of secondary education; it is filtering into the elementary school; especially is this true in the departments of English, home economics, and the physical sciences. General objectives are conceived in terms of student behavior. Three years ago, most classroom activities were designed to help students build up resistance to propaganda as citizens and consumers through teaching them to detect propaganda; emphasis was placed upon the development of skills, upon ability to detect propaganda devices. Today, it is upon the provision of experiences *within the growth interests and the needs* of pupils whereby not only may essential skills be mastered but the pupil encouraged to build his own philosophy with his goal that of intelligent, responsible membership in his group.

Does Program Develop Cynicism?

With critics who say that propaganda analysis work with young people brings unhealthy cynicism, we cannot agree—not if such classroom work is conceived and carried out *for* the child and *with* the child. Not if we do not confront children and young people with questions, with concepts, with social or economic or political problems about which they can do nothing. The implication is clear: the differ-

ence in outcomes is the difference between the teacher who imposes her own interests upon her pupils, who "propels" them through a unit of study on propaganda, and the teacher who as a guide to maturity helps her pupils to think critically and to act intelligently on the everyday problems they are meeting. It is the opinion of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis that an outcome of the second kind of instruction may be for young people to make ethical use of the devices of persuasion to promote the ideas for which they stand, but that it *by its very nature and process* will not build attitudes of cynicism and defeatism.

Naturally in a new and complex area in which the Institute and its cooperating teachers are themselves pioneers, many are the unknown factors and equations. Many are the needs for materials, for methods, for constructive techniques with which to work in classrooms and in community groups. That is why the Institute's study program in the development of critical thinking is experimental.

Schools of Every Kind

The Institute's educational program is not confined to any selected group of schools. Its cooperating superintendents, principals, and teachers are, for the most part, public school people from all sections of the country who are participating in the program at their own request. Naturally, this raises certain apparent problems of coordination and of counseling, but it presents its own special, vital challenge from the point of view of the educational sociologist. For we have schools in mill towns where only two per cent of the students will go to college; the other 98 per cent will go from high school into the factories. We also have schools in well-to-do suburban communities where students generally come from well-educated families and, like their fathers and mothers, will some day attend college and university to prepare for medicine, law, engineering. Students with such divergent backgrounds and needs must naturally be helped through different methods and techniques.

Developing these methods is a tremendous job, and frankly the Institute has been forced to tackle it—through increasing popular demand—with totally inadequate facilities. Foremost among the classroom needs enumerated by teachers engaged in the Institute's program

in grades seven through twelve in their June, 1939 reports were: source materials giving various sides of controversial issues; instruments of evaluation prepared for instructional as well as testing purposes; a central clearing house for the distribution of information concerning classroom methods and techniques developed in the programs of the Institute and other educational organizations; and a more intensive counseling and guidance service, including the setting up of special propaganda analysis workshops for teachers and courses in teacher training institutions.

Planning With Teachers

Anticipating some of these needs as best it could, the Institute has during the past year: (1) maintained close correspondence with cooperating teachers; (2) conducted informal planning and guidance sessions in New York City, Cleveland, Pasadena, and other cities and towns throughout the country; (3) distributed to 500 schools (and analyzed the findings of) a questionnaire prepared to supplement the year's reports sent in to the Institute by cooperating teachers; assisted Professor Clyde R. Miller of Teachers College, Columbia University, in setting up the first Workshop Course in Propaganda Analysis. This was given in the summer of 1939, and will be repeated at Teachers College in the academic year 1939-1940.

The Institute plans to issue a detailed report of its study program activities in the fall. This will include the thinking and findings of a curriculum committee whose inquiries reach down into the elementary grades. It will also raise discussion questions and considerations we consider basic to the further development of our study program in propaganda analysis to the end that young people and adults may develop the ability described by S. P. McCutchen in his analysis of the scientific process:

"One who faces the social problem intelligently (1) defines or describes the problem correctly, (2) looks at the feasible courses of action, (3) collects and interprets the pertinent information, (4) reaches a tentative decision in the light of the evidence, (5) acts in accordance with the decision, and (6) reconstructs his patterns on the basis of his experience." Such a process, we believe, *can* become the mainstay of the American school curriculum—and of our democratic society.

The Institute's Publications

1 MONTHLY BULLETINS and special studies of today's propagandas are prepared for the Institute's subscriber-members. These bulletins are especially designed to help the intelligent citizen detect and analyze current propagandas. Accompanying them are PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS WORKSHEETS to acquaint individuals, classroom teachers, and adult group leaders with methods whereby they and their groups may become proficient in making their own analyses of propaganda.

A YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION ENTITLES YOU TO 12 BULLETINS, SPECIAL STUDIES, AND SUBSCRIBERS' RATES ON PUBLICATIONS LISTED BELOW.

Single subscriptions, each	\$2.00
10 or more to the same address, each	\$1.50
20 or more to the same address, each	\$1.00

2 GROUP LEADER'S GUIDE TO PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, the revised edition of experimental study materials for use in high schools, in colleges, and in adult study groups, was prepared at the request of cooperating teachers and group leaders. It provides experimental discussion material; it suggests techniques and methods for carrying on propaganda study in areas of general education, such as English literature, American history, social studies, mathematics, journalism, art, music, speech, home economics, general science, and current events. Many of these suggested experimental materials and techniques flow from classroom usage in the Institute's 550 cooperating high schools, colleges, and adult study groups.

THE INSTITUTE INVITES THE COOPERATION OF TEACHERS AND ADULT GROUP LEADERS IN ITS EXPERIMENTAL STUDY PROGRAM. FROM TIME TO TIME IT OFFERS THEM SPECIAL SERVICES AND MATERIALS FOR USE IN THE CLASSROOM OR STUDY GROUP.

Single copies, each	\$2.00
Single subscriber copies, each	\$1.00
10 or more to the same address, each	\$.85
20 or more to the same address, each	\$.75

3 PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, VOLUME II is the publication in book form of the Institute's twelve studies of current propagandas, issued from November 1938 through September 1939. The PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS WORKSHEETS, a guide to group discussion and study, prepared for each bulletin, make the volume of particular value to adult groups. High school, college, and university teachers and students will find it helpful in connection with their use of the *Group Leader's Guide to Propaganda Analysis*.

Single copies, each	\$2.00
Single subscriber copies, each	\$1.50
10 or more to the same address, each	\$1.00

PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, VOLUME I, which contains the first year's studies, issued from October 1937 through October 1938, together with special group discussion notes, may be obtained for the same prices.

4 THE FINE ART OF PROPAGANDA—A STUDY OF FATHER COUGHLIN'S SPEECHES. This analysis, in book form, was published in August, 1939 by Harcourt, Brace and Company, 383 Madison Avenue, New York.

Cloth binding	\$1.50
Paper binding	\$.75

This book was sent without extra charge to Institute subscribers at the time of publication. On request the Institute will send a free paper-bound copy with every new subscription as long as its own limited supply lasts. Old subscribers may wish to take this opportunity to call the attention of friends to this special offer.